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3. Prior Settlement, 1811.
4. Treaty with Spain, 1819.
5. Treaty with England, 1846.
MEXICAN CESSION OF 1848
PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA PURCHASED FROM FRANCE 1803
TEXAN ANNEXATION 1845
MEXICAN CESSION OR GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
ORIGINAL UNITED STATES
SOUTHWEST TERRITORY 1790
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY 1798
1783
CEDED BY SPAIN 1819
DOMINION OF CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MAP SHOWING THE
TERRITORIAL GROWTH
OF THE
UNITED STATES
SCALE OF MILES
Longitude West 97° from Greenwich

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The Territorial Growth of the United States

BY

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OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA

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PREFACE

IT is now many years since the substance of the following pages was first written. The manuscript was laid aside and the author began a more thorough study of the subject. That study has been continued to the present time, and the author has availed himself of all the authorities within his reach. During the last two years he has been largely engaged in rewriting and preparing the matter for the press. From the first, the history here embodied has appeared to him to be of great value to the American citizen, and to deserve a wider knowledge and more careful attention from all our people. The facts here presented in consecutive order have not heretofore been so fully given. It was, therefore, necessary to go back to original sources of information and to cull from many works of diverse character.

Some of the chapters have a brief treatment because others seem to demand fuller and more minute consideration. The history of the Louisiana Purchase and the acquisition of the Oregon country are considered more at length because of the exceptional value of that history and because correct information upon these subjects has not been generally obtainable.

It is difficult to appreciate fully the importance of the service done to this country by Dr. Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams, in the delicate task of negotiating the treaty of peace with Great Britain; and by Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe in accomplishing the purchase of the Louisiana province from the first Napoleon.

The special favor of Divine Providence toward this country appears again and again in the course of our history, particularly in the results of the old French and Indian War, the purchase of Louisiana, the acquisition of New Mexico and California, and the saving of Oregon from the grasp of England.

The map, showing our several territorial accessions, which forms the frontispiece to this book, was in the main copied from a cloth map twelve by seven and a half feet in size, which was made before Mr. Stocking's map appeared in the volume on *Population*, in the census report of 1870.

The author is indebted to Theodore Lyman's *United States Diplomacy*, in two volumes, published in Boston in 1828; to Marbois's *History of Louisiana*, Philadelphia, 1830; to Greenhow's *History of Oregon and California*, Little & Brown, 1844; and to Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 volumes, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston, 1889. Special mention ought to be made of the valuable article on the *Peace Negotiations of 1782–1783* by the Hon. John Jay, published in the seventh volume of Winsor's history, above mentioned, pp. 89–165. Thanks are due to Hon. William R. Merriam, Superintendent of the Twelfth United States Census, for his courtesy in furnishing advance bulletins of the census, showing population, etc.

WILLIAM A. MOWRY.

HYDE PARK, MASSACHUSETTS,
May 1, 1902.

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THE TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES

THE early history of most nations is involved in obscurity. The mythological romance that hangs about the earlier settlements of Greece and Rome hides in profound darkness the origin of those great civilizations. The dawn of English history is surrounded by uncertain traditions that cloud several centuries with the fog and mist of poetic ballads and stories of giants and demigods. But the beginnings of American history are as bright and balmy as a spring morning, with no cloud to obscure the glory of the rising sun. The facts of the emigration from the old countries and of the several settlements are well known and as well authenticated as any chapter in the history of the world.

The enthusiasm, energy, and courage that characterized the earlier discoverers and explorers, the religious earnestness and devotion to principle and to conscience that marked the New England settlers, the heroic self-denial of the western pioneers, the changing fortunes and the final success that attended the English settlements between the Spanish Floridas and the French Acadia, have been recorded by able historians, though scarcely appreciated by the mass of their readers. The favoring conditions which conduced to the final independence and expansion of these colonies were numerous and marvelous. The overruling hand of a Divine Providence shaping the end shows in many conspicuous examples.

Among the causes of the present greatness and prosperity of the United States must be placed several acts of European governments.

That was an auspicious moment for America when, at the close of the Seven Years' War, England, "furiously imperious," and "drunk with success,"[1] dictated severe and humiliating terms to France, robbing her of all her North American colonies and dividing the great valley of the interior between herself and Spain. It was a sagacious and experienced statesman who, in commenting on the Treaty of Paris in 1763, could so foresee the progress of inevitable events as to

[1] Duc de Choiseul. See Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. iv., p. 451.

say: "The consequences of the entire cession of Canada are obvious. I am persuaded that England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection; she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence." [1]

Equally significant was the utterance of Napoleon at the conclusion of the treaty ceding the great province of Louisiana to the United States: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." [2]

Hardly less important to the future of our country was the treaty with Spain in 1819, which not only ceded the two Floridas to the United States, but quitclaimed to us all Spain's right and title to the Pacific coast north of the forty-second degree of latitude.

The independence of the thirteen colonies once secured, their growth was inevitably rapid. The population at the taking of the first census, in 1790, was less than 4,000,000; one hundred years from that time

[1] Count de Vergennes, at that time the French Ambassador at Constantinople. See Bancroft, vol. ii., p. 564.

[2] M. de Marbois, *History of Louisiana*, p. 312. Lea & Carey, Philadelphia, 1830.

the official census aggregated over 52,000,000. The population by the census of 1900 is more than 76,000,000, besides an estimated 10,000,000 more in our island possessions. This unprecedented increase in the number of inhabitants is indicative of similar progress in other directions, and is largely dependent on the rapid increase of territory.

In the earliest discoveries and explorations Spain took the lead, but she made no successful efforts to plant colonies within the limits of the original territory of the United States. About the beginning of the seventeenth century England laid claim to the entire coast from Cape Fear in North Carolina to Halifax,—a breadth of about twelve degrees of latitude. In 1606 King James granted two important patents: one to the London Company, for all the territory between the 34th and 41st degrees of latitude, and the other to the Plymouth Company, for the section between the 38th and 45th degrees, with the provision that neither Company should make a settlement within a hundred miles of any colony of the other.

Under the direction of the London Company the first permanent settlement within the limits of our original territory—the first permanent English settlement in America—was made at Jamestown in 1607. Its name and the name of the river were given in honor of the king who granted the charter. The limits of the grant under this charter were from Cape Fear on the

south to the southern line of Maryland on the north.

The language of the charter is important. It states the request made by Sir Thomas Gates and others, and grants their prayer as follows:

To make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our People into that part of *America* commonly called VIRGINIA . . . situate, lying and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of *Northerly* Latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude. . . . And to that End, and for the more speedy Accomplishment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several Colonies and Companies; the one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of *London;* . . . and the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants and other Adventurers, of our Cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter*, and of our Town of *Plimouth*, and of other places, . . . [the former to] begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, . . . [and the other] . . . between eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the said Latitude; . . . We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their desires; . . . DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended desires; and do . . . GRANT and agree, that the said Sir *Thomas Gates* and others, shall be called the *first Colony;* And they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Habitation, at any Place . . . between the said four and thirty and one and forty Degrees

of the said Latitude; and that they shall have all the Lands . . . from the said first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of *English* Statute Measure, all along the said Coast of *Virginia* . . . toward the *West* and *Southwest* as the Coast lyeth, . . . And also all the Lands . . . from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fifty like *English* Miles, all alongst the said Coasts of *Virginia* and *America*, toward the *East* and *Northeast* or towards the *North*, as the Coast lyeth . . . And also all the Lands . . . from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like *English* Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there. . . . And that no others of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Backside of them, towards the main Land, without the Express License or Consent of the Council of that Colony, thereunto in Writing first had and obtained.

And we do likewise, . . . GRANT and agree, that the said *Thomas Hanham* and *Ralegh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and all others of the Town of *Plimouth* . . . or elsewhere, which are, or shall be, joined to them of that Colony, shall be called the *second Colony;* And that they shall and may begin their said Plantation and Seat of their first Abode and Habitation . . . between eight and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude; and that they shall have all the coasts . . . by the Space of fifty like *English* Miles, as is aforesaid, all alongst the Coasts . . . towards the *West* and *Southwest* or towards the *South*, as the Coast lyeth, . . . And also all the Lands . . . for the Space of fifty like Miles . . . towards the *East* or *Northeast* or toward the *North*, as the Coast lyeth, . . . from the same fifty Miles

every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land, by the Space of one hundred like *English* Miles. etc.

The Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred *English* Miles of the other of them that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid. . . . Each of the said Colonies shall have a Council . . . which shall consist of thirty Persons . . . and that also there shall be a Council, established here in England . . . of thirteen Persons, . . . appointed by Us. . . . The Councils of the said Several Colonies shall and lawfully may dig, mine and search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper . . . YIELDING to Us, our Heirs and Successors the fifth Part only of all the same Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth Part of all the same Copper so to be gotten or had, or as aforesaid, without any Manner of Profit or Account, to be given or yielded to Us, our Heirs or Successors, for or in Respect of the same.

Full authority to defend themselves, to trade, and to coin money was given both colonies, and the rights of English subjects were guaranteed to them and their posterity.

This patent was signed April 10, 1606, "in the fourth year of our Reign of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and thirtieth."[1]

The second charter was given in 1609, and is dated "the 23d Day of May in the seventh Year of our Reign of England," etc.[2] It rehearses the provisions of the former patent, and adds:

[1] Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*, part ii., p. 1893. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 1902.

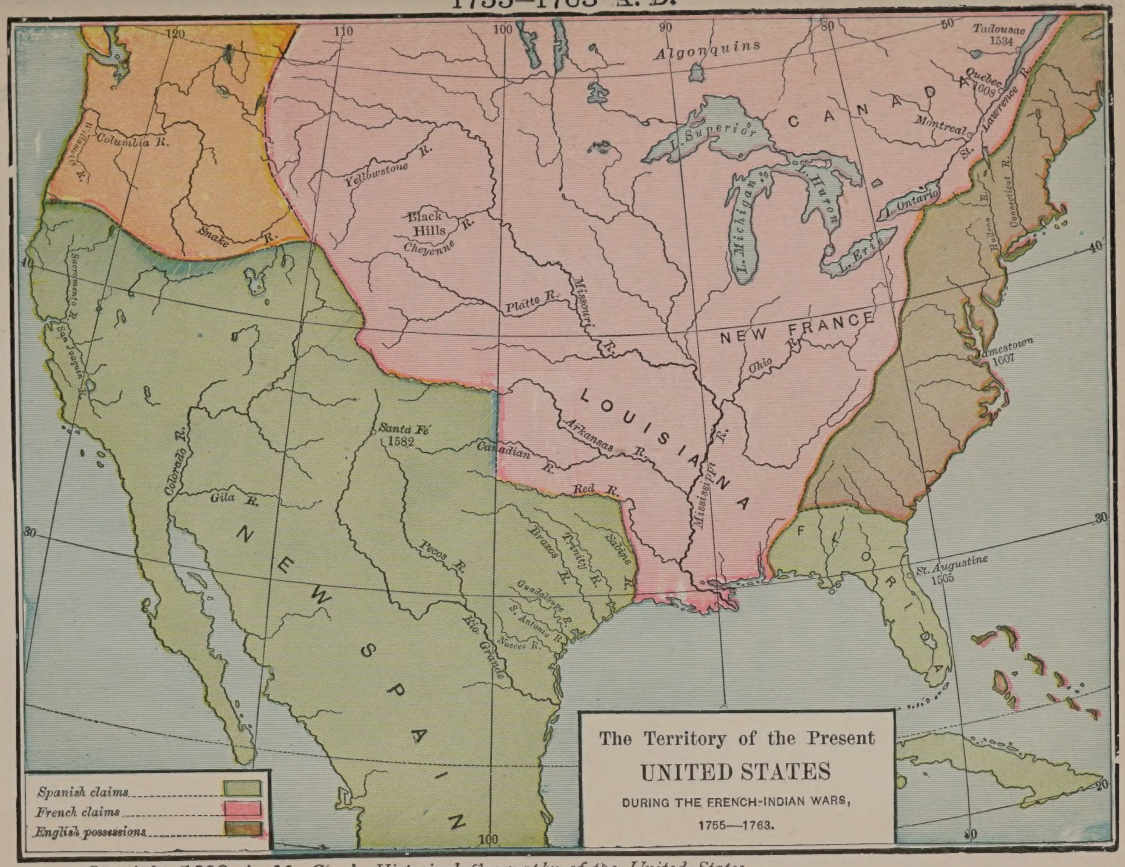
We would be pleased to grant them a further Enlargement and Explanation of the said Grant, Privileges and Liberties, and that such Counsellors, and other Officers may be appointed amongst them, to manage and direct their Affairs, as are willing and ready to adventure with them, as also whose Dwellings are not so far remote from the City of *London*, but they may, at convenient Times, be ready at Hand, to give their Advice and Assistance, upon all Occasions requisite. . . . .

And we do also . . . give, grant and confirm, unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors . . . all those Lands . . . from the Point of Land called Cape or *Point Comfort*, all along the Sea Coast to the Northward, two hundred miles, and . . . to the Southward, two hundred Miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct aforesaid, up into the Land throughout from Sea to Sea, West and Northwest.

The council resident in the colony was abolished and a council with a treasurer was appointed by the king. Lord Delaware was made governor for life, and the entire authority was vested in the governor, treasurer, and officers of the council, who were also empowered to make all laws for the colony. Arrangements for trade were made, and for customs or taxes on goods.

The third charter was given in 1612 and is dated March 12th (this was 1611, old style). It enlarges the rights and powers of the Company, but does not change the boundaries of the colonies. Here, then, we have the beginning of the English colonies in North America.

1755—1763 A. D.



Copyright, 1892, in MacCoun's Historical Geography of the United States.

The Dutch claim in North America came from a voyage made in May, 1609, by Captain Henry Hudson in the service of the Dutch East India Company. He sailed to the head of navigation on the great river which now bears his name. The validity of this claim was never allowed or acknowledged by the English. Although New Amsterdam was settled by the Dutch and held by them till 1664, in that year it was surrendered to the English and in September the British flag was raised at New Amsterdam, which then became New York, and the Dutch power in what is now the United States was at an end.

It is not necessary to our purpose to follow the planting of the several English colonies. Virginia was settled, as we have seen, in 1607; Plymouth in 1620 (united with the "Bay Colony" in 1692); New Hampshire in 1623; New York in 1623; Massachusetts Bay in 1628; Maryland in 1634; Connecticut in 1635; Rhode Island in 1636; Delaware in 1638; Pennsylvania in 1643; the Carolinas in 1663; New Jersey in 1664; and Georgia in 1733. Four of these colonies —New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—were called Eastern or New England Colonies; four—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware—were called Middle Colonies; and five —Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia—were called Southern Colonies.

Prior to the war of the Revolution Great Britain had

undisputed control of the coast from the St. Mary's River, which was the northern boundary of Florida, to Nova Scotia; and the government of this great territory was comprised in thirteen colonies, all subject to the British crown, and each independent of the others. The different systems of government that prevailed in the several colonies have generally been grouped under the three heads of provincial, proprietary, and charter governments. When the Revolution came, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut had charters; three other colonies—Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware—were proprietary. The remaining seven were provincial or royal colonies.

The boundaries of some of these colonies were vague and indefinite. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York all laid claim to the territory of Vermont. Connecticut, as late as 1782, claimed a part of Pennsylvania, and at one time claimed Rhode Island. At the time of the Revolutionary War six colonies had boundaries defined with reasonable exactness; these were New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. The others claimed western lands, extending generally to the Mississippi River. Some of the grants given by the king were clearly designed to extend to the Pacific Ocean. For example, the charter of Massachusetts says "throughout all the main lands from sea to sea"; that of Connecticut, "to the south sea on the west"; that of

Carolina, "to the west as far as the south seas"; and the second charter of Virginia, given in 1609, reads, "up into the Land throughout from Sea to Sea West and Northwest."

The middle of the eighteenth century was a most important epoch in the history of this country. In the years from 1754 to 1763 England and France were at war. The contest began in America, and two years later involved the great powers of Europe.

At this time the English colonies occupied the coast between Florida and Nova Scotia, but nowhere extended inland beyond the Alleghanies. The entire valley of the St. Lawrence and the great basin of the Mississippi were first explored and settled by the French and hence belonged to France. Florida and Mexico had been settled by Spaniards and were, therefore, held by Spain. So read the map of North America at the middle of the eighteenth century; but important changes were about to take place.

The important province of Louisiana, so named in honor of the great Louis XIV., was transferred by France to Spain. It was a country of immense extent, reaching from the Gulf of Mexico to the present British possessions in latitude 49°, and from the Mississippi, "with western boundaries undefined." This cession to Spain was offset by that government passing Florida over to England, who retained it until, by the Treaty of 1783, she re-ceded it to Spain. In the Treaty

of 1763 England sanctioned the cession of Louisiana to Spain, and, further, compelled France to cede to her all that part of New France lying east of the Mississippi, and all of Canada and Nova Scotia. Thus by this general change of titles, France was swept entirely from North America, Spain was limited to the territory beyond the Mississippi River, and England held everything between the Atlantic and the Mississippi.

"There is no hope of repose for our thirteen colonies as long as the French are masters of Canada," said Benjamin Franklin on his arrival in London in 1754. "He was already laboring, without knowing it, at that great work of America, independence, which was to be his glory and that of his generation. The common efforts and the common interests of the thirteen American colonies in the war against France were the first step toward that great coalition which founded the United States of America." [1]

So long as rival powers held the country on the south, west, and north of these English colonies, so long they needed the protection of the mother country. The final independence of the colonies was apparently assured when France, who had heretofore held all the country north and west of them, was driven from the continent. This peace placed in the hands of England the entire country between the

[1] Guizot's *History of France*, vol. vi., p. 199, Estes & Lauriat edition.

Alleghanies and the Mississippi, only that it might fall into the hands of the United States of America, thirteen years later, in 1776, when the infant republic took its place among the nations of the earth.

Guizot,[1] the great historian of his native country, France, says of the state of affairs in 1763:

> The struggle was over. King Louis XV. had lost his American colonies, the nascent empire of India, and the settlements of Senegal. He recovered Guadaloupe and Martinique, but lately conquered by the English, Chandernagore, and the ruins of Pondicherry. The humiliation was deep and the losses were irreparable. All the fruits of the courage, of the ability, and of the passionate devotion of the French in India and in America were falling into the hands of England. Her government had committed many faults; but the strong action of a free people had always managed to repair them. The day was coming when the haughty passions of the mother country and the proud independence of her colonies would engage in that supreme struggle which has given to the world the United States of America.

This war was more important than at first sight would appear. It began over a question of supremacy in America and extended until Europe and Asia were largely involved. It was not only a contest between England and France, but a war of races, languages, and religions. It was a war for the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon over the Latin race. It was a contest between the laws, manners, and customs of Great

[1] *History of France*, vol. vi., p. 214.

Britain, with rights guaranteed to the people by Magna Carta, and those of more despotic monarchies of southern Europe; between the English language and the French; between the Roman Catholic Church and "freedom in religious concernments"; and finally, as it now appears, it was the beginning of a contest for the ultimate supremacy in the world. On the Plains of Abraham were decided all these questions. The fall of Quebec, and the consequent conquest of Canada by the British was, therefore, the supreme moment in the history of North America.

The English colonies now had nothing to fear from the proximity of other European powers, and at once began, perhaps unconsciously, to prepare for independence. They no longer needed the aid of the mother country,—a fact which they quickly learned,—and began to shape their course accordingly. The succession of events was rapid. Franklin's plan of union had failed in 1754, but the common cause which the colonies made during the war bound them together, and prepared them to act in concert when the Revolutionary War began. This war finally resulted in independence and a new North American nation.

In 1779 Congress appointed John Adams of Massachusetts minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain. Mr. Adams was soon after appointed minister to The Hague. He arrived in Paris early in 1780, and began correspondence and

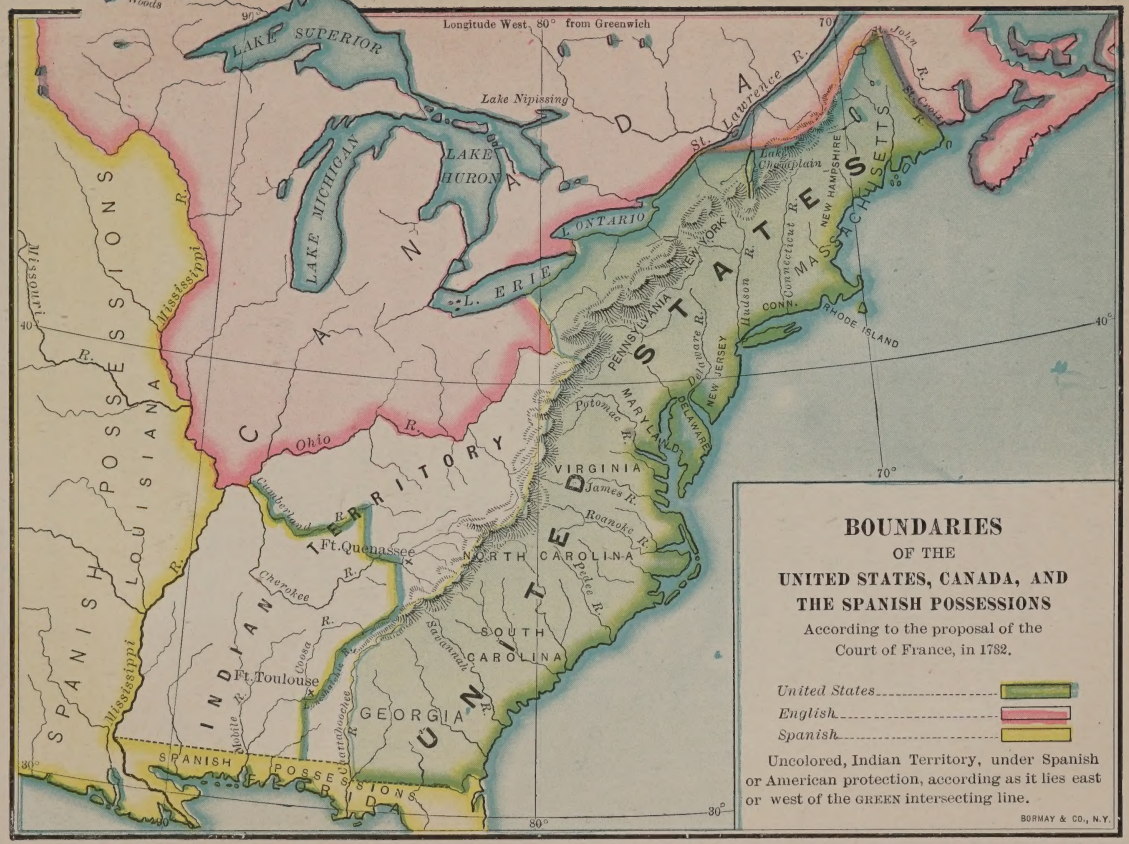
intercourse with Count de Vergennes, the French minister. It was not long before a mutual dislike and distrust grew up between Mr. Adams and Vergennes. Adams was convinced that it was the intention of the French government to sacrifice the interests of the Americans in favor of Spain, especially in the matter of the Newfoundland fisheries and the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. Americans must always be grateful to Mr. Adams for the clear-sightedness with which he thus read the designs of Vergennes and estimated at its true worth the purely selfish intervention of France in behalf of the United States. It soon became evident to the French government that the bold and manly position taken by Mr. Adams was likely to thwart the intention of France to play into the hands of Spain. Both the king of France and the king of Spain were Bourbons, and Adams was too much of an upright and downright Englishman to suit the plans of these Bourbon governments.

It may, therefore, be considered natural that French influence should be exerted upon Congress to place the negotiation of this treaty in other hands. Of course, France could not dictate who should be commissioned for such duties. She adroitly suggested to members of Congress, through persons friendly to France, that inasmuch as America had so many able statesmen, it might be well not to leave to one man

so important a duty as the negotiating of this treaty.

These counsels prevailed, and in June, 1781, Congress passed an act which gave to "John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens and Thomas Jefferson, or the majority of them, or as many of them as may assemble, or in the case of the death, absence, indisposition or other impediment of the others, to any one of them, full power and authority, general and special commission, to repair to such place as may be fixed upon for opening the negotiations for peace, and there for us, and in our name, to confer, treat, agree and conclude with the ambassadors, commissioners, and plenipotentiaries of the princes and states, whom it may concern, vested with equal powers, relating to the establishment of peace, and whatsoever shall be agreed and concluded for us, and in our name, to sign, and thereupon make a treaty or treaties, and to transact everything that may be necessary for completing, securing and strengthening the great work of pacification, in as ample form, and with the same effect, as if we were personally present and acted therein."

This act placed John Adams at the head of the commissioners, and it was considered that he represented New England; John Jay the Empire State of New York; Benjamin Franklin the Keystone State, Pennsylvania; Thomas Jefferson the great commonwealth of Virginia; and Henry Laurens the Southern states.



BOUNDARIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES, CANADA, AND THE SPANISH POSSESSIONS
According to the proposal of the Court of France, in 1782.

United States
English
Spanish

Uncolored, Indian Territory, under Spanish or American protection, according as it lies east or west of the GREEN intersecting line.

BORMAY & CO., N.Y.

Mr. Jefferson did not join the commission, but all the other commissioners were present during some part of the discussions.

The task committed to these gentlemen was an extremely delicate one. France had espoused our cause, loaned us money, and furnished us with troops and a naval fleet. Her conduct, however, may be open to the suspicion that she was influenced by ill-will toward England as well as by love for the United States. The instructions from Congress to our commissioners were that they should "take no steps without France." It was plainly thought best to treat France with the utmost consideration, to confer with her on all points of the treaty; and, indeed, at first this was the view of John Adams himself. "In 'his determination to take no steps of consequence without consulting the ministers of his most Christian Majesty' he asked 'the opinion and advice' of Vergennes."[1] But when these commissioners settled down to the business they discovered the double part that France was playing.

The three great questions in this treaty were:

1. The Newfoundland fisheries.
2. Remuneration to the loyalists.
3. The western boundaries.

The boldness, earnestness, and patriotism of John Adams finally secured for us the first point. The

[1] Letter to Vergennes, see *United States Diplomacy*, vol. i, p. 101.

agreement is stated in the third article of the treaty, which reads as follows:

It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind, on the Grand Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used, at any time heretofore, to fish; and also, that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind, on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen may use; (but not to dry or cure the same on that island;) and also on the coasts, bays and creeks, of all other of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors and creeks of Magdalen Islands and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same, or either of them, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement without a previous agreement for that purpose, with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

The second point was happily adjusted by referring the whole matter to the several states, inasmuch as Congress had not power to determine the question. On this point the treaty reads as follows:

Art. 4. It is agreed, that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

Art. 5. It is agreed that the Congress shall earnestly

recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also the estates, rights and properties, of persons resident in districts in possession of his Majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States.

Now comes the matter of western boundaries. This was the most important question before the commissioners. "There is now in the Department of State at Washington a copy of Michel's map of North America on which the Count d'Aranda traced in the presence of Mr. Jay at Paris in the summer of 1782, where the Count was then Spanish minister, the boundaries of Spain, beginning on the north at the confluence of the Ohio and the Renhawah and running round the western shores of Erie, Huron, and Michigan, to Lake Superior. This boundary included all the Western States. As early as January, 1780, the French minister communicated to Congress by order of his court the following statement of claims on the part of Spain: The exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, the possession of the Floridas and the lands on the left bank of the Mississippi. It is very clear that Spain intended to obtain from the United States an acknowledgement of these pretensions before she recognized the independence." [1]

[1] Theodore Lyman's *The Diplomacy of the United States*, vol. i., pp. 121–2.

Another account states that d'Aranda, in the presence of Jay, indicated what he thought should be the boundaries of the new republic. On this map he traced the proposed line, beginning at what is now the northwest corner of Pennsylvania, running south to Pittsburg, down the Ohio to the point of boundary between West Virginia and Kentucky, then southerly, in general along the ridge of the mountains, to the northern line of Florida. "Or," he said, "if this does not satisfy the Americans, then let the line run down the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers." Mr. Jay never forgot that statement of the Count.

It is said that one day Oswald, the British commissioner, proposed to Dr. Franklin that as the Quebec bill included the territory north of the Ohio, that country should be considered a part of Canada. To this Dr. Franklin replied: "No, sir. If you insist upon that we go back to Yorktown." The point was then given up by the British commissioner, but it was not so easy to secure the consent of the French minister. He was anxious that the territory north of the Ohio be given to Spain as a part of her province of Louisiana. Jay clearly saw the value of that territory to the United States, but how should it be secured? It rightfully belonged to us, because we had conquered it through the expedition of George Rogers Clark, in 1778. The territory south of the Ohio we were entitled to through the bravery and

patriotism of John Sevier, James Robertson, and Isaac Shelby.

It was not long before Mr. Jay became convinced that the only way for us to secure our rights would be to negotiate the treaty with the British commissioner before France knew it. Although he was under instructions to "take no step without France," he felt that those instructions were not right. They were belittling to our country; they placed us under the heel of France. France was planning with Spain to our injury, and he determined, if possible, to thwart their efforts. He was aware that the instructions Congress had given to the commissioners said: "You are to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects to the ministers of our generous ally, the King of France; to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence; and ultimately to govern yourself by their advice and opinion." These instructions Jay sincerely regretted. But he also remembered that the instructions, which had originally been given to Mr. Adams alone, said: "But we think it unsafe, at this distance, to tie you up to absolute and peremptory directions upon any other subject than the two essential articles before mentioned. [These two points were the recognition of the absolute independence and sovereignty of the United States, and an agreement that the treaties with France should be left in full force.]

You are therefore at liberty to secure the interests of the United States in such manner as circumstances may direct."

Jay was now in the prime of life, under forty, while Franklin was an old man past seventy-five. Franklin was somewhat infirm, and lived at Passy. One day, in Jay's room in Paris, they were discussing the question of boundaries. Jay was anxious to have Franklin agree to his views, but Franklin, who was exceedingly popular with all the French people, could not bring himself to distrust the honest friendship of the French government. Jay's hints, however, were so broad that Franklin finally said, "But, would you break your instructions?" He referred to the direction that they should be governed by the advice of France.

"Yes," replied Jay, who was smoking a pipe, "as I break this pipe,"—and immediately he threw it into the open fire.

"That will be a pretty serious matter," said Franklin. "I will think about it."

The next day they discussed the matter again, and soon after Adams came over from The Hague and had a long conference with Jay. On all these points he sided with Jay and they soon brought Franklin to their views. Oswald was ready to sign the treaty at once. Out of respect to the alliance between the United States and France, this was to be considered a preliminary treaty and was not to be made definitive

until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France. With this reservation the treaty between the United States and Great Britain was signed and sealed by the commissioners of both countries. Our commissioners may well have felt joyful at its accomplishment. Friends of Franklin gathered round him, and the Duke de la Rochefoucauld kissed him for joy. Franklin said to him: "My friend, could I have hoped at such an age to have enjoyed such happiness?"

The day before the signing of the treaty, that is, November 29th, Franklin wrote to Vergennes, telling him that the provisional articles of the treaty were agreed upon, and added: "Tomorrow I hope we shall be able to communicate to Your Excellency a copy of them."[1] The next day a copy was sent to Vergennes and he at once observed that the treaty had been executed; it was signed and sealed. Franklin, a few days later, on December 15th, informed Vergennes that he proposed to send despatches to Congress the next day by the *Washington*, having obtained a passport for that vessel from the king of England. The French minister the same day wrote a caustic letter to Franklin. In it were these words:

I am at a loss, Sir, to explain your conduct and that of your colleagues on this occasion. You have concluded your preliminary articles without any communication

[1] Sparks's *Works of Franklin*, vol. ix., p. 435.

between us, although the instructions from Congress prescribe that nothing shall be done without the participation of the King. You are about to hold out a certain hope of peace to America without even informing yourself on the state of the negotiation on our part. You are wise and discreet, Sir; you perfectly understand what is due to propriety; you have discharged your duties with exactness during your life. I pray you to consider how you propose to fulfil those which are due to the King. I shall not extend my reflections further. I leave them to your own ideas of propriety.[1]

Two days later Franklin replied in a most tactful letter, which contains the following:

Nothing has been agreed in the preliminaries contrary to the interests of France, and no peace is to take place between us and England until you have concluded yours. Your observation is, however, apparently just, that in not consulting you before they were signed, we have been guilty of neglecting a point of *bienséance*. But, as this was not from want of respect for the King, whom we all love and honor, we hope it will be excused, and that the great work, which has hitherto been so happily conducted, is so nearly brought to perfection, and is so glorious to his reign, will not be ruined by a single indiscretion of ours. And certainly the whole edifice sinks to the ground immediately, if you refuse on that account to give us any further assistance. . . . It is not possible for any one to be more sensible than I am, of what I and every American owe to the King, for the many and great benefits and favors he has bestowed upon us. All my letters to America are proofs of

[1] Sparks's *Works of Franklin*, vol. ix., pp. 449–50. See also Theodore Lyman's *Diplomacy of the United States*, vol. i., p. 120.

Copyright, 1892, in MacCoun's Historical Geography of the United States.

this; all tending to make the same impression on the minds of my countrymen that I felt in my own. And I believe that no prince was ever more beloved and respected by his own subjects, than the King is by the people of the United States. The English, I just now learn, flatter themselves they have already divided us. I hope this little misunderstanding will, therefore, be kept a perfect secret, and that they will find themselves totally mistaken.[1]

That this treaty should have been signed not only by the American commissioners, but by the English commissioner as well, without the knowledge of the French minister, aroused in the mind of Vergennes an apprehension that possibly the English and the Americans might combine against France. He at once accepted the apology, and without further objection acquiesced in the treaty. There was certainly no reason why he should not do so, especially in view of his own secret understanding with Spain. He immediately sent a letter to Luzerne, the French minister at Washington, in which he expressed the thought that the American Congress ought to be informed of the very irregular conduct of their commissioners, but it was not written in a tone of complaint. It reads in part as follows:

I blame no one, not even Dr. Franklin. He has yielded too easily to the bias of his colleagues, who do not pretend to recognize the rules of courtesy in regard to us. All their attentions have been taken up by the English whom they

[1] Sparks's *Works of Franklin*, vol. ix., p. 451.

have met in Paris. If we may judge of the future from what has passed under our eyes, we shall be poorly paid for all that we have done for the United States, and for securing for them a national existence.[1]

As has already been intimated, the most important point in the treaty after the acknowledgment of the absolute independence of the United States, was the boundary question. After defining the boundary on the eastern and northern borders of Maine and through the middle of the St. Lawrence River and the middle of the lakes, the treaty marks the line thus: "Thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the 31st degree of north latitude." Then the boundary leaves the river on the 31st degree of latitude, and passes eastward along the northern line of what was then known as East and West Florida, to the Atlantic.

At that time the sources of the Mississippi River had never been explored and were totally unknown. The map which guided the commissioners placed the source of that river some distance northwest of the Lake of

[1] Sparks's *Works of Franklin*, vol. ix., p. 456.

the Woods, hence the blunder of these commissioners in saying that the line should run from the most northwestern point of that lake "on a due west course to the river Mississippi." A subsequent treaty with Great Britain changed this to read, "from this most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods due south to latitude 49°."

CHAPTER II

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

OF the value of the territory secured to the United States by the treaty of peace of 1783, we can hardly speak too strongly. Suppose for a moment that our western boundary had been fixed where Count d'Aranda wished it to be, along the line of the Appalachian Mountains. How different would have been the history of this country! The thirteen colonies east of the Alleghany Mountains, including Vermont, occupied less than 400,000 square miles. The territory north of the Ohio added 265,000 square miles, and the territory south of the Ohio made 175,000 square miles more. This made the total of the United States territory, according to that treaty, about 840,000 square miles. The land which these commissioners by their stroke of diplomacy succeeded in securing for the young republic more than doubled its area. Let us try to form some adequate conception of the value of this great territory that lies north and northwest of the Ohio River. It is to be noticed that one third of the present state of Minnesota lies east of the Mississippi

and therefore is included in this territory. First we will compare it as to area with ten countries of Europe.

TABLE I

AREA OF TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO

SECTION.	AREA IN SQ. MILES.
1. One third Minnesota	26,000
2. Indiana	34,000
3. Ohio	40,000
4. Wisconsin	54,000
5. Illinois	55,000
6. Michigan	56,000
Total	265,000

TEN COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

SECTION.	AREA IN SQ. MILES.
1. Belgium and Netherlands	25,000
2. Denmark and Switzerland	30,000
3. Portugal	37,000
4. Wales and Ireland	39,000
5. Scotland and Greece	50,000
6. England	51,000
Total	232,000

Let us next observe the increase of population within the last one hundred years.

TABLE II

INCREASE OF POPULATION IN TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO

YEAR.	POPULATION.	INCREASE PER SQ. MILE.
1800	51,000	1-5
1810	270,000	2 1-2
1820	790,000	3
1830	1,470,000	5
1840	3,000,000	10
1850	4,500,000	15
1860	7,000,000	26
1870	9,250,000	34
1880	11,500,000	43
1890	14,000,000	52
1900	18,000,000	68

If the territory northwest of the Ohio had a population of two hundred per square mile, like these countries in Europe, it would sustain a people numbering over fifty millions. If its population were as dense as that of Massachusetts it would approach eighty millions.

The dimensions in territory and the increase in population do not cover the whole ground. Let us consider for a moment the annual productions of this tract secured to us through the diplomacy of Jay and Franklin.

TABLE III

PRODUCTIONS.

SECTION.	WHEAT, BU.	CORN, BU.	OATS, BU.
One third Minnesota..	14,000,000	8,000,000	14,000,000
Wisconsin.....	8,000,000	27,000,000	51,000,000
Michigan.....	24,000,000	23,000,000	28,000,000
Ohio.....	38,000,000	84,000,000	26,000,000
Indiana.....	40,000,000	103,000,000	29,000,000
Illinois.....	47,000,000	165,000,000	75,000,000
Total,	171,000,000	410,000,000	223,000,000
United States.....	516,000,000	1,628,000,000	661,000,000

SECTION.	POTATOES, BU.	HAY, TONS.
Territory N. W. of the Ohio.....	50,000,000	12,000,000
United States.....	205,000,000	46,000,000

It will be seen by the preceding table that of the leading food productions, this territory gives us from one fourth to one third of all produced in the entire United States.

This territory has 44,945 miles of railroad out of a

total mileage of 186,590 in the United States. Of 78 cities in the country having a population numbering over 50,000, 16 are in this section. It has 80 representatives in Congress out of a total of 357 from the country as a whole. During the last forty years every President of the United States but one, who has been elected by the people, has been a resident of this section. And that one exception, Cleveland, lived in Buffalo, a city just outside the boundary. In all these ways are indicated the value and the importance of the territory northwest of the Ohio.

The United States now includes the territory west of the Mississippi River reaching to the Pacific Ocean, which may be called the Great Northwest, and to this vast country the territory north of the Ohio may be regarded as the gateway. Had we not obtained the gateway, we might not have had any Great Northwest. Through the open door our people have been pushing westward until we now have, comprising that section of the Union, the states of Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Washington, and Oregon.

We may gain an idea of the importance of this Great Northwest by a comparison, as to area and population, with thirteen of the leading countries of Europe.

TABLE IV

AREA AND POPULATION OF THE GREAT NORTHWEST

SECTION.	AREA IN SQ. MILES.	POPULATION.
1. Territory Northwest of Ohio	265,000	18,000,000
2. Two thirds of Minnesota (west of the Mississippi)	56,000	1,150,000
3. Iowa	56,000	2,230,000
4. Nebraska	77,000	1,000,000
5. Wyoming	98,000	90,000
6. The two Dakotas	150,000	720,000
7. Oregon and Washington	165,000	930,000
8. Montana and Idaho	230,000	400,000
Total	1,097.000	24,520,000

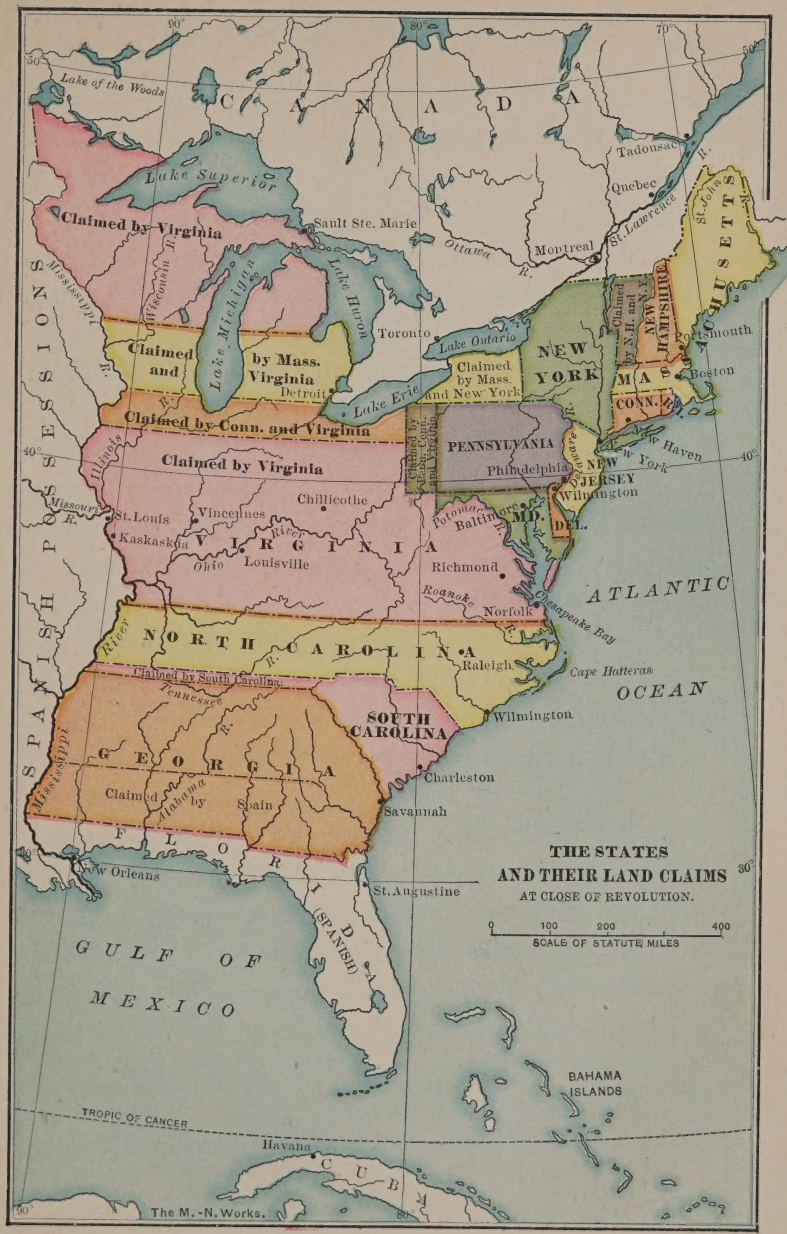
Average, 23 per square mile.

PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

SECTION.	AREA IN SQ. MILES.	POPULATION.
1. Germany	212,000	52,200,000
2. Switzerland and Portugal	53,000	7,640,000
3. Turkey	57,000	4,800,000
4. Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, and Roumania	87,000	18,000,000
5. Great Britain and Ireland	120,000	37,880,000
6. Italy	114,000	30,000,000
7. Spain	183,000	17,550,000
8. France	214,000	38,520,000
Total	1,040,000	206,590,000

Average, 200 per square mile.

By this chart it is seen that these countries of Europe have a population of more than 200,000,000, while our Great Northwest, of equal area, has a population of less than 25,000,000, or one eighth as many. Yet this region has a climate and fertility which would


THE STATES
AND THEIR LAND CLAIMS
AT CLOSE OF REVOLUTION.
0 100 200 400
SCALE OF STATUTE MILES
CANADA
Lake of the Woods
Lake Superior
Claimed by Virginia
Sault Ste. Marie
Ottawa R.
Montreal
St. Lawrence R.
Quebec
Tadousac
St. John R.
Mississippi R.
Wisconsin R.
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Toronto
Lake Ontario
Claimed by Mass. and New York
NEW YORK
Claimed by N.H. and N.Y.
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
Portsmouth
Boston
Claimed and by Mass. Virginia
Detroit
Lake Erie
Claimed by Conn. and Virginia
Claimed by Conn. and Virginia
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
Delaware R.
NEW JERSEY
Wilmington
New Haven
New York
CONN.
R.I.
Illinois R.
Claimed by Virginia
Missouri R.
St. Louis
Kaskaskia
Vincennes
Chillicothe
Ohio River
Louisville
VIRGINIA
Potomac R.
Baltimore
MD.
DEL.
Richmond
Roanoke R.
Norfolk
Chesapeake Bay
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Cape Hatteras
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
Claimed by South Carolina
Tennessee R.
SOUTH CAROLINA
Wilmington
Charleston
Savannah
GEORGIA
Claimed by Spain
Alabama R.
Mississippi River
FLORIDA (SPANISH)
New Orleans
St. Augustine
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMA ISLANDS
TROPIC OF CANCER
Havana
CUBA
The M.-N. Works.

render it capable of sustaining as large a population as is now supported in these thirteen countries of Europe.

Of the western territory that came to the United States by the treaty of Paris in 1783 a large part was claimed by individual states. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia each had claims on land beyond the Alleghany Mountains. A movement was early on foot to induce these states to cede the territory to the general government. It was contended that all the states had fought for independence and that when England signed the treaty of peace she ceded to the United States, as a nation, the territory westward to the Mississippi. This territory ought to fall under the control of Congress by virtue of manifest justice and equity. At length one state after another agreed to cede to the national government all claim and title to this western land.

New York was the first to give up her claim, on March 1, 1781. Three years later, to a day, Virginia ceded to the general government that part of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois which falls south of the 41st parallel. She reserved, however, for military bounty lands, that part which lies between the Scioto and the Little Miami from their sources to the Ohio River. This tract covered not less than 6570 square miles, or something over 4,000,000 acres. On the 19th of April,

1785, Massachusetts ceded to Congress her claim to lands west of New York.

The next cession in order of time was an important one, and was made, September 14, 1786, by the state of Connecticut. It included all that country in the present states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, lying between the parallels of 41° and 42° 2′, and west of a north and south line drawn one hundred and twenty-five miles west of the present western boundary of the state of Pennsylvania. All this territory Connecticut ceded both in respect of jurisdiction and the rights of soil. She reserved the region within one hundred and twenty-five miles of Pennsylvania, afterwards and still known as the "Western Reserve." On May 30, 1800, she ceded this section in respect to jurisdiction, only reserving to herself the right to the soil. This "Western Reserve" comprised between three and four million acres, embracing what is now included in eight counties. The sale of these lands gave to Connecticut her school fund, which, after the completion of the sales, amounted to $1,200,000, but now is something over $2,000,000.

South Carolina, on August 19, 1787, executed a deed of cession, accepted by Congress April 2, 1790, conveying a parcel of land twelve to fourteen miles wide, which now forms the northernmost portions of the states of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. December 22, 1789, North Carolina authorized a deed of

cession to what is now the state of Tennessee, which, after being formally executed by her senators in Congress, was accepted by the United States at the same time with the cession from South Carolina.

The state of Georgia, after a long course of negotiation, on April 24, 1802, finally agreed to cede to the United States her claims, which covered the whole territory between her present western boundary and the Mississippi River, excepting the narrow strip on the northern border already ceded by South Carolina. The United States in return gave her that portion of the South Carolina cession which lies east of the present western boundary of Georgia. The United States further agreed: (1) To pay out of the proceeds of these lands $1,250,000 to reimburse Georgia for her expenses in relation to these lands; (2) to appropriate 500,000 acres to satisfy certain claims against the land thus ceded; and (3) to extinguish the Indian title to specified parts of the cession. These agreements finally resulted in taking from the United States treasury not far from $3,000,000.

Such is the list of cessions of the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains made by individual states to the general government. The infant nation was then made up of two distinct portions of nearly equal magnitude, the first being the fourteen states, including Vermont, situated along the coast and generally lying east of the Alleghanies; and the second being

the public domain, extending from the Alleghany Mountains to the Mississippi River, and separated into two parts by the state of Kentucky, which was admitted to the Union in 1792. The area of the states, including Kentucky, was about 400,000 square miles, and of the public land about 406,000 miles.[1]

Soon after this territory came within the jurisdiction of the federal government, Congress passed an act to establish a territorial government for all the country northwest of the Ohio River. This act is known as the famous "Ordinance of 1787," and has often been spoken of as the most important act passed during the thirteen years of the Continental Congress, subsequent to the Declaration of Independence. It provided that from this territory there should be erected not less than three nor more than five states. Out of this provision have grown the states of Ohio, admitted in 1803; Indiana, admitted in 1816; Illinois, admitted in 1818; Michigan, admitted in 1837; and Wisconsin, admitted in 1848.[2] A portion of Wisconsin was afterwards cut off and annexed to Minnesota.

This Ordinance of 1787 is specially important on account of a provision in its sixth and last article that "Hereafter, forever, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise

[1] See Walker's *Statistical Atlas*.

[2] See Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*.

than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

The binding character of this ordinance is further shown by its introductory clause, which is as follows:

"It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent."

The southern portion of the public domain was organized as the "Territory South of the Ohio," by act of Congress in 1790, and the "Mississippi Territory," by act of 1798. The "Territory South of the Ohio" included Kentucky, which was admitted as a state in 1792, and Tennessee, which was made a state in 1796, when the territorial government came to an end. The "Mississippi Territory" embraced the present states of Mississippi and Alabama, and this territory continued until the admission of the former as a state in 1817. A new territory was then erected for the remaining eastern portion, called the "Territory of Alabama," which continued until it was admitted as a state in 1819.

Two more states, Maine and West Virginia, were admitted from the territory that in 1783 comprised the United States. Maine, with the consent of Massachusetts, of which it was formerly a part, was erected

into a state in 1820. West Virginia was set off from the state of Virginia in 1862, when the people adopted a constitution and gained the consent of the governing body recognized by the United States as the legislature of Virginia. Accordingly, West Virginia was admitted by Congress December 31, 1862. Thus within the original limits of our country we now have the original thirteen states and twelve others,[1] added by act of Congress "on equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever." [2]

The original territory, which appeared so vast at that early period, has all been divided up into states, nearly doubling the original number, and instead of a sparse population of about 4,000,000 confined almost altogether within a hundred miles of the Atlantic coast, nearly all parts are inhabited and the lands are well cultivated. This area now contains a population of 55,000,000, of which nearly half, 25,000,000, are in the twelve states added to the original states mostly from the public domain.

At the beginning of our national career the territory was large and the population small. It doubtless appeared to all, at that period, that the time would never come when more territory would be needed. The

[1] A part of Minnesota is also from the original territory.

[2] These words are used either in the "Enabling Act" or in the act recognizing the new states, in all cases except Vermont and Kentucky, in which cases the expression used is "as a new and entire member of the United States of America."

country originally embraced about 840,000 square miles. The actual size of this vast extent will be better appreciated by comparing it with the area of the leading countries of Europe. In Morse's *Universal Geography* we find that in 1787 these areas were put down as follows:

COUNTRY.	AREA IN SQ. MILES.
Great Britain and Ireland	100,928
France	163,200
Spain	148,448
Austrian Monarchy	180,496
Turkey	182,562
Italy	90,000
Switzerland	15,296
Germany	192,000
Holland	10,000
Denmark	182,400
Portugal	27,376
Sweden	209,392
Hungary and Transylvania	92,112
Russia	1,104,976

It thus appears that the territory of the United States, at the beginning of our national history, was greater in extent than any country of Europe except Russia alone, and much of her land lay valueless under the frozen snows of the Arctic region. It was larger than the combined areas of the following nine countries: Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, and Transylvania. The average population of these nine countries was about 125 to the square mile; that of the United States was less than five to the square mile.

The United States was then eight times as large as the powerful kingdom of Great Britain, from which it had been wrested by the little army under Washington. It was fifty times as large as the republic of Switzerland, which had so long remained secure among its mountain fastnesses, although surrounded on all sides by powerful frowning monarchies. It was fifty times as large as ancient Greece, the fatherland of all modern civilization. It was nine times the territory of Italy, five times as large as France, nearly five times as large as Austria or Turkey in Europe, and three times as large as the present combined German empire.

The founders of this great republic had no aspiration for a larger empire than could be contained in their original limits, and therefore made no constitutional provision for an increase of territory. But the spirit of the people was so progressive and the growth of the nation so rapid that the sentiment of the young republic might well be expressed in these lines:

> "No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
> But the whole boundless continent is ours."

From the treaty of peace until the beginning of the following century our territorial boundaries remained unchanged. The western limits were the Mississippi River, from latitude 31° northward to the Lake of the Woods. West of the river the province of Louisiana belonged to Spain.

Longitude West 80° from Greenwich
90°
70°
49°
45°
35°
Lake of the Woods
LAKE SUPERIOR
CLAIMED ALSO
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
L. ERIE
L. ONTARIO
St. Lawrence R.
St. John R.
St. Croix R.
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Sabine R.
Ohio R.
Connecticut R.
82 Mile Meridian
Hudson R.
Delaware R.
LOUISIANA
CEDED TO SPAIN BY FRANCE 1763
MASSACHUSETTS Cession 1785
CONNECTICUT Cession 1786
CONN. RESERVE
VIRGINIA Cession 1784
VA. MIL. RES.
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
North Carolina Cession of 1790
South Carolina Cession of 1787
Georgia Cession of 1802
Georgia Cession of 1798
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
Savannah R.
Chattahoochee R.
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASS.
CONN.
R. I.
1787
ORIGINAL PUBLIC DOMAIN
Shows also Cessions of the States to the General Government
Original Public Domain.
States.
English Possessions.
Spanish Possessions.
1781. New York ceded claims all west of her present limits.
1786. Massachusetts and New York adjusted their conflicting claims by the Meridian 82 miles west of the Delaware River, New York yielding right of the soil, Massachusetts right of sovereignty.
BORMAY & CO., N.Y.

CHAPTER III

LOUISIANA

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, First Consul of France, on the first of October, 1800, negotiated a treaty with Spain by which the province of Louisiana was re-ceded to France. This treaty, which was concluded at San Ildefonso, in Spain, was to be kept secret. In fact, it did not become known in the United States until nearly two years later.

The story is told that at one time in his early career Napoleon was quartered in a book-store, and there he studied geography and history. Even before that, when he was at school, his teacher said of him that he excelled in mathematics and was very good in history and geography. In any case, it is evident that Napoleon had studied the geography of North America. He clearly foresaw that this province of Louisiana would become an important country.

This ambitious ruler earnestly desired to build a great French empire in the very heart of North America. Here was a country four times as large as all France, with a delightful climate, a fertile soil,

abounding in minerals of great value, even then to some extent known; a country easily accessible for commerce through the waters of the longest river on the globe, with its numerous and majestic tributaries, that could be navigated to a distance of four thousand miles from its mouth. France had been forced in an evil hour to yield up this magnificent province, and it was natural that Napoleon, in the first flush of his great success, having recovered this lost treasure, should entertain high hopes of the future grandeur which he should there secure. One historian asserts that he said: "Whatever nation shall hold the valley of the Mississippi will be the most powerful nation on the earth."

However, he had scarcely secured the coveted prize when he was compelled to part with it. The treaty was a secret one, but the article ceding this territory became known, and England, exasperated by the aggressive and haughty demeanor of the new French ruler, determined to check his power, and planned an expedition against Louisiana. This was not long unknown to Napoleon. Ever watchful against the machinations of his enemies, he learned the designs of Great Britain, and although he knew himself to be in a position that rendered him unable to defend a province so distant, he yet determined to thwart these designs.

Just at this juncture, without reference to the state

of affairs in Europe, it appeared necessary to President Jefferson that the United States should control the left bank of the Mississippi to its mouth. This river was our western boundary from its source to latitude 31°, but south from that point both banks were included in the province of Louisiana. Our southern boundary ran from the Mississippi eastward on latitude 31° to the Chattahoochee River, down that river to its junction with the Flint, then in a straight line to the source of the St. Mary's River, thence down the St. Mary's to its mouth.[1] The importance to our country of the port of New Orleans and the freedom of navigation on the Mississippi can hardly be overestimated. At this time the tide of emigration over the Alleghany Mountains had set in strongly. Kentucky and Tennessee had been admitted as states, Ohio was just then knocking for admission, and both the Indiana country and the Mississippi territory were fast filling up with a hardy and enterprising set of pioneers from the East. The great river was their only outlet.

A right of deposit at New Orleans for the produce of the West had been secured from Spain by the treaty of 1795. Great obstacles, however, were thrown in the way of navigation, and later the right of deposit was

[1] It is true we made some claim to the territory below latitude 31° between the Pearl River and the Perdido, and probably "manifest destiny" would have given us that tract if we had not subsequently bought it of Spain; but in reality we had at this time no just claim to it.

absolutely withdrawn by the Spanish authorities at New Orleans. In consequence of these threatening conditions the people of the western section of our country were seriously disturbed, and during Mr. Adams's administration measures had been recommended by people in the West looking toward the taking of New Orleans by force. Happily, however, the difficulty was at that time averted and quiet was restored.

But the control of the Mississippi was in the hands of a foreign nation and the stability of the western commerce was still threatened. Finally, in 1802, the treaty of San Ildefonso was made public. This excited and inflamed the minds of the western people, until the feeling was almost universal that the United States would be justified in using force to obtain possession of New Orleans and the island on which it was built. Indeed, our government was in imminent danger of being forced by public opinion into some warlike action.

During this state of affairs "an individual was employed in this country to intimate to the American government that the First Consul would, for the payment of a sum of money, consent to the transfer of a portion of Louisiana; the sum was mentioned as well as the territory proposed for the cession. This communication, not in any way official, came from a quarter sufficiently respectable to attract attention,

though, as Congress was not at that time in session, and the proposition involved the necessity of an appropriation, the Executive preferred to reserve the consideration of it for a more suitable season." [1]

It was this proposition, probably, that first suggested to Mr. Jefferson the solution of the problem. If we could purchase from Napoleon the island of New Orleans, and perhaps the Floridas,—for it was then supposed that Spain had included her provinces of East and West Florida with Louisiana in her sale to France,—it would form the simplest and most reasonable way out of the difficulty. Otherwise, a costly war seemed almost inevitable.

While these difficulties at New Orleans were increasing, and before it had become known that the province had been ceded by Spain to France, Mr. Livingston, our minister to France, was strongly of the opinion that we should take forcible possession of the country on the east bank of the river. These views of his were brought to the attention of the home government. Had not a more desirable and more honorable solution of the problem been presented, and even thrust upon the attention of the administration, it is probable that matters would have become so complicated as to have rendered that method absolutely necessary. To President Jefferson's credit be it said, that, instead of yielding to this demand for forcible possession, he sent

[1] *United States Diplomacy*, vol. i., p. 379.

instructions to Mr. Livingston to make a strong effort to purchase the island of New Orleans. For this purpose Congress, in secret session, appropriated the sum of two million dollars.

The importance of this course on the part of Mr. Jefferson can hardly be overestimated. On the one hand, so long as the territory remained in the hands of Spain we had little, comparatively, to fear. But as soon as the French should take possession, the case would be altered. President Jefferson has often been charged with partiality towards France, but his course at this time was as decided as it was honorable. On the 15th of December, 1802, he thus addressed Congress: "The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, if carried into effect, will make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations." War with France was thought to be not improbable. At this juncture Mr. Jefferson wrote to Mr. Livingston as follows:

> The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. . . . We must turn our attention to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high ground, and, having found and connected together a power which may render a re-enforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of

America in sequestration for the common purposes of the United British and American nations. This is not a state of things we seek or desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France, forces on us necessarily, as any cause, by the laws of nature, brings on its necessary effect.

On January 13, 1803, he wrote to James Monroe thus:

On the event of this Mississippi River depend the future destinies of this republic. If we cannot, by a purchase of the country, ensure to ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then, as war cannot be far distant, it behooves us immediately to be preparing for that course, without, however, hastening it.

From these strong words it is readily seen that the President considered the case critical and calling for decisive measures. This will appear more plainly if we recall the statement of his policy in his inaugural address in March, 1801: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none."

"If, now, France is not disposed to cede New Orleans to us, we have only one course open to us—namely, to unite with Great Britain and the second time drive France from America, as we had done once before. But, if France will yield to our wishes—almost a demand—and cede the east bank of the Mississippi to us, then we may avoid the 'entangling alliance.'"

There was a chance, indeed, such as might never

again present itself, for an amicable acquisition of this territory, which seemed absolutely necessary for our safety and prosperity. "Besides," said one, "we are not prepared for war. Ten years of peace are necessary to make us respectable and powerful. We shall then be in a situation to face every danger."

Meantime, Mr. Livingston had not been idle, but had pressed upon the French government the proposition that the United States should purchase the territory on the east bank of the Mississippi. He had been ordered to make known to the French government the discontent of our western people, and "his notes were drawn up," says Marbois, "with a firmness to which Bonaparte was not accustomed. If one of the continental powers of Europe had dared to employ similar language, the invasion of its territory would have been the consequence."[1] But Mr. Livingston's efforts were all to no purpose. He saw no hope that our country would ever possess New Orleans by treaty, and was fully persuaded that we ought to take it by force.

It was soon determined to send a minister extraordinary to France to aid Mr. Livingston in the important negotiation. Mr. James Monroe was selected for this responsible mission. He had been governor of Virginia, was very popular in the Western states, and was favorably known in France, where he had resided as envoy in the time of the Directory. Mr. Monroe

[1] Marbois's *History of Louisiana*, p. 238.

1800

Longitude West 80° from Greenwich
CANADA
LOUISIANA
CEDED BY SPAIN TO FRANCE, 1801
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
L. ERIE
L. ONTARIO
INDIANA TERRITORY 1800
NORTHWEST TERRITORY
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
Sabine R.
Chattahoochee R.
Savannah R.
Hudson R.
St. Lawrence R.
St. John R.
St. Croix R.
Quebec
Montreal
Augusta
Portland
Portsmouth
Boston
Hartford
New Haven
New York
Albany
Oswego
Syracuse, 1796
Detroit
Cleveland
Marietta
Chillicothe
Cincinnati
Vincennes
Kaskaskia
St. Louis
Louisville
Lexington
Washington, 1800
Richmond
Nashville
Knoxville, 1794
Raleigh
Chattanooga, 1796
Arkansas Post
Natchitoches
Natchez
New Orleans
Mobile
Pensacola
Augusta
Charleston
Savannah
St. Augustine
VERMONT 1791
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASS.
CONN.
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburgh
Trenton
Philadelphia
Baltimore
MARYLAND
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY 1792
TENNESSEE 1796
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
TERRITORY SOUTH OF TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
UNITED STATES
In 1800
(John Adams's Administration)
States.
Territories.
English Possessions.
Spanish Possessions.
1791. Vermont admitted as a Free State.
1792. Kentucky admitted as a Slave State.
1796. Tennessee admitted as a Slave State.
1800. Indiana Territory organized.
BORMAY & CO., N.Y.

was authorized to offer for the territory two million dollars. The French had "committed depredations on the commerce of the United States, in violation of the law of nations and treaties.[1] The consular government had put a stop to reprisals, and promised indemnities; but nothing had been done towards making reparation.

In the instructions to Monroe and Livingston, it was clearly stated that "if France should avow or evince a determination to deny to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi, your consultations with Great Britain may be held on the ground that war is inevitable."

It must constantly be borne in mind that the acquisition of the whole of Louisiana was not included in the instructions to the ministers, nor was it, so far as appears, thought of or desired by Mr. Jefferson and his cabinet. The instructions were plain and definite. In a letter to Mr. Livingston, this language is used: "Mr. Monroe will be the bearer of the instructions, under which you are jointly to negotiate. The object of them will be to procure a cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to the United States, and consequently the establishment of the Mississippi as the boundary between the United States and Louisiana."

Mr. Livingston's earlier negotiations were conducted with M. Talleyrand, the minister of foreign affairs. All these attempts, however, were apparently fruitless

[1] Announcement by Congress, through the President, May, 1798.

until within a few days before the arrival of Mr. Monroe, when an important change in affairs took place. The most that had been said in any way by the French government was on the 11th of April, when M. Talleyrand "wished to know what we would give for the whole." [1]

Just here it becomes necessary to develop the changed condition of affairs that brought about this "Yankee" question, and that resulted in transferring the whole negotiation from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Secretary of the Treasury. Up to this point Napoleon had steadily refused to entertain any proposition for ceding any territory. Now, however, his entire policy suddenly changed. In order that we may understand clearly what had produced this revolution of mind, it is well to read the account written by a member of the French cabinet, who quotes Napoleon's views in his own words.

This cabinet officer was a gentleman well versed in American affairs, a statesman of great experience and not unfriendly to the new western republic. He was no other than the Marquis de Marbois, a name well known in France and holding an important place in French history. He was born in 1745 at Metz, where his father was director of the mint. He early entered the diplomatic service, and when twenty-four years old he was appointed secretary of the French legation to

[1] Mr. Livingston to the home government.

the Diet of the Empire, which held its sittings at Ratisbon.

In 1779, after the treaty of amity and alliance between France and the United States, he was appointed secretary of the French legation at Washington. Chevalier de la Luzerne was the Minister Plenipotentiary, and Marbois cordially accepted the position of Secretary, to which was united the office of consul-general. In this capacity he organized all the French consulates in this country. From 1779 to 1785 he resided at Philadelphia, near to Congress, during the most important years of the Revolution, and subsequently, after the return of Luzerne to France, in 1784, he occupied the post of *chargé d'affaires* for a whole year. While in this country he married a Philadelphia lady.

During the Reign of Terror in France, the Marquis de Marbois was imprisoned, and only regained his liberty by the fall of Robespierre. In 1795, he was elected to the Council of Ancients (or Elders), and in the struggle that ensued between the Council and the Directory he upheld the former and was sentenced to banishment. Under circumstances of peculiar aggravation he was transported to the unhealthy climate of French Guiana, where he remained an exile from 1797 to 1800. In 1801, he became the "Minister of the Public Treasury," and thus was a member of the cabinet. It was while he occupied this position that the negotiations concerning Louisiana took place.

Exiled by Napoleon during the Hundred Days, Marbois was, on the return of Louis XVIII., named Minister, Secretary of State, and Keeper of the Seals. He soon after resigned and returned to his former place in the Court of Accounts, where he continued to discharge the duties of his position with wonderful exactness until nearly ninety years of age. When he was eighty-four years old he carried through the press his *History of Louisiana*, which was immediately translated into English and published in the United States. It is an octavo volume of more than four hundred and fifty pages, and for breadth of view, the highest and most statesman-like ideas, accurate historical knowledge, and fairness and impartiality, its superior can scarcely be found.[1] He died, January 14, 1837, at almost ninety-two years of age.

From the history of this remarkable transaction, written by the very man who negotiated it, is taken, verbatim, the following account of the interview between the First Consul and two of his trusted advisers, in which Napoleon unfolded his designs concerning this important colony:[2]

[1] *The History of Louisiana, particularly of the cession of that colony to the United States of America; with an Introductory Essay on the Condition and Government of the United States.* By Barbé Marbois, Peer of France, etc., etc. Translated from the French by an American Citizen, Philadelphia. Carey & Lea. 1830. pp. 455. Many of the above-mentioned facts concerning the life of Marbois are from the "Translator's Notice" at the beginning of this valuable volume.

[2] *History of Louisiana*, pp. 263 *et seq.*

On Easter Sunday, the tenth of April, 1803, after having attended to the solemnities and ceremonies of the day, he [Napoleon] called two of his counsellors to him, and, addressing them with that vehemence and passion which he particularly manifested in political affairs, said: "I know the full value of Louisiana, and I have been desirous of repairing the fault of the French negotiators who abandoned it in 1763. A few lines of a treaty have returned it to me, and I have scarcely recovered it when I must expect to lose it. But if it escape from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France, Canada, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They are engaged in exciting trouble in St. Domingo. They shall not have the Mississippi which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison to their conquests in all parts of the world, and yet the jealousy they feel at the restoration of this colony to the sovereignty of France, acquaints me with their wish to take possession of it, and it is there that they will begin the war. They have twenty ships of war in the Gulf of Mexico. They sail over those seas as sovereigns, whilst our affairs in St. Domingo have been growing worse ever since the death of Le Clerc. The conquest of Louisiana would be easy, if they only took the trouble to make a descent there. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I know not whether they are not already there. It is their usual course, and if I had been in their place, I would not have waited. I wish, if there is still time, to take from them any idea that they have of ever possessing that colony. I think of ceding it to the United States. I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies I shall only transmit an empty title to

those republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana, but I already consider the colony as entirely lost, and it appears to me that, in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France, than if I should attempt to keep it. . . ."

One of these ministers had served in the auxiliary army sent by France to the United States during their revolution. The other had, for ten years, been in the public employ, either as Secretary of the French legation to the Continental Congress, or as the head of the administration of St. Domingo.

"We should not hesitate," said the latter minister, "to make a sacrifice of that which is about slipping from us. War with England is inevitable. Shall we be able, with very infirm naval forces, to defend Louisiana against that power? The United States, justly discontented with our proceedings, do not hold out to us a solitary haven, not even an asylum, in case of reverses. They have just become reconciled to us, it is true; but they have a dispute with the Spanish government, and threaten New Orleans, of which we shall only have momentary possession. . . . Louisiana is open to the English from the north by the Great Lakes, and if, to the south, they show themselves at the mouth of the Mississippi, New Orleans will immediately fall into their hands. What consequence is it to the inhabitants, to whom they are subject, if their country is not to cease to be a colony? This conquest would be still easier to the Americans; they can reach the Mississippi by several navigable rivers, and to be masters of the country, it will be sufficient for them to enter it. . . . The French have attempted to form colonies in several parts of America. Their efforts have everywhere proved abortive. The English are patient and laborious, and do not fear the solitude and silence of

newly settled countries. The Frenchman, lively and active, requires society; he is fond of conversing with his neighbors. He willingly enters on the experiment, but at the first disappointment, quits the spade or the axe for the chase."

The First Consul, interrupting these observations, asked how it happened that the French, who were incapable of succeeding in a continental colony, had always made great progress in the West Indies. "Because," replied the minister, "the slaves perform all the labor. The whites, who would be soon exhausted by the heat of the climate, have, however, the vigor of body and mind necessary to direct their operations."

"I am again," said the First Consul, "undecided as to maintaining or abolishing slavery. By whom is the land cultivated in Louisiana?"

"Slavery," answered the minister, "has given to Louisiana half her population. . . . But for what good purpose would you subject yourself to still greater embarrassments in Louisiana? You would there constantly have the colonial laws in collision with those at home. Of all the scourges that have afflicted the human race, slavery is the most detestable. . . . If, Citizen Consul, you, who have by one of the first acts of your government made sufficiently apparent your intention of giving this country to France, now abandon the idea of keeping it, there is no person that will not admit that you only yield to necessity, and even our merchants will soon acknowledge that Louisiana, free, offers to them more chances of profit than Louisiana subjected to a monopoly. Commercial establishments are at this day preferable to colonies, and even without commercial establishments it is best to let trade take care of itself."

The other minister was of a totally opposite opinion.

"We are still at peace with England. The colony has just been ceded to us, and it all depends on the First Consul

to preserve it. It would not be wise in him to abandon, for fear of a doubtful danger, the most important establishment that we can form out of France, and despoil ourselves of it for no other reason than the possibility of a war. It would be as well, if not better, that it should be taken from us by force of arms. If peace is maintained the cession cannot be justified, and this premature act of ill-founded apprehension would occasion the most lively regrets. To retain it would, on the other hand, be for our commerce and navigation an inestimable resource, and to our maritime provinces the subject of universal joy. The advantages which we have derived from the colonies are still present to every mind. Ten flourishing cities have been created by this trade, and the navigation, opulence and luxury which embellish Paris are the results of colonial industry. There can be no marine without colonies; no colonies without a powerful marine. . . . It does not become you to fear the kings of England. If they should seize on Louisiana, as some would have you fear, Hanover would be immediately in your hands as a certain pledge of its restoration. France, deprived of her navy and her colonies, is stripped of half her splendor, and of a great part of her strength. Louisiana can indemnify us for all losses. There does not exist on the globe a single port, a single city, susceptible of becoming as important as New Orleans, and the neighborhood of the American States already makes it one of the most commercial in the world. The Mississippi does not reach there until it has received twenty other rivers, most of which surpass in size the finest rivers of Europe. . . ."

After a further glowing description of this country, its climate, its commercial position, its resources, the minister concludes as follows:

"Finally, France, after her long troubles, requires such a colony for her internal pacification; it will be for our country what a century ago were for England, the settlements which the emigrants from the three kingdoms have raised to so high a degree of prosperity: it will be the asylum of our religious and political dissenters. It will cure a part of the maladies which the revolution has caused, and be the supreme conciliator of all the parties into which we are divided. You will there find the remedies for which you search with so much solicitude. . . ."

The first Consul terminated the conference without making his intentions known. The discussions were prolonged into the night. The ministers remained at St. Cloud; and at daybreak he summoned the one who had advised the cession of Louisiana, and made him read the dispatches that had just arrived from London. His ambassador informed him that naval and military preparations of every kind were making with extraordinary rapidity.

"The English," said Napoleon, "ask of me Lampedousa which does not belong to me, and at the same time wish to keep Malta for ten years. This island, where military genius has exhausted all the means of defensive fortification to an extent of which no one without seeing it can form an idea, would be to them another Gibraltar. To leave it to the English would be to give up to them the commerce of the Levant, and to rob my southern provinces of it. They wish to keep this possession, and have me immediately evacuate Holland.

" Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony, without any reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and I have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object the

recovery of it. I renounce it with the greatest regret. To attempt obstinately to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States. Do not even await the arrival of Mr. Monroe; have an interview this very day with Mr. Livingston. But I require a great deal of money for this war, and I would not like to commence it with new contributions. For a hundred years France and Spain have been incurring expenses for improvements in Louisiana, for which its trade has never indemnified them. Large sums, which will never be returned to the treasury, have been lent to companies and to agriculturists. The price of all these things is justly due to us. If I should regulate my terms according to the value of these vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be modest in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions, and for less than that sum I will not treat. I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep these fine countries. To-morrow you shall have your full powers. . . . Perhaps it may also be objected to me, that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations that are called perpetual, only last till one of the contracting parties finds it to its interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger, to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy. . . . You will acquaint me, day by day, hour by hour, of your progress. The cabinet of London is informed of the measures adopted at Washington, but it can have no suspicion of those which I am now making. Observe the greatest secrecy, and recommend it to the American ministers. They have not a less interest than yourself in conforming to this

counsel. You will correspond with M. de Talleyrand, who alone knows my intentions. If I attended to his advice, France would confine her ambition to the left bank of the Rhine, and would only make war to protect the weak states, and to prevent any dismemberment of her possessions. But he also admits that the cession of Louisiana is not a dismemberment of France. Keep him informed of the progress of the affair."

The conferences began the same day between Mr. Livingston and M. Barbé Marbois, to whom the First Consul had confided this negotiation.

The remarkable character of this interview between Napoleon and his ministers, Berthier and Marbois, is sufficient reason for inserting it at so great length. It will be observed that the author is extremely modest and names himself only at the close of the account. Nor does he anywhere give the name of the other minister, who pleaded his side of the case with so much skill and ability, but whose counsel Napolen rejected. From the description which Marbois gives of him, that he "had served in the auxiliary army sent by France to the United States during their Revolution," there can be no doubt but that it was Napoleon's Minister of War, Alexander Berthier, who, when a young man of about twenty-three, had accompanied Lafayette to the United States, being attached to his staff with the rank of captain. In 1799, Napoleon made him Minister of War, which office he held until 1807.

It may seem hardly in accordance with the well-known character of Napoleon that he should have taken the advice of Marbois rather than that of Berthier. It is more than probable that his distrust of M. Talleyrand, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, even at this early date, was so great as to cause him to withdraw the negotiations from that officer and commit them to his Minister of the Treasury. It surely is a remarkable circumstance that this negotiation should have fallen into the hands of such exceptionally able men, so well qualified by their previous friendship, their experience, and their natural knowledge of the subject under consideration. The following is M. Marbois's description of the three men:[1]

Mr. Livingston, Chancellor of the state of New York, had been a member of Congress and minister of foreign affairs. He was the head of one of those patrician families, which, in consequence of former services, honorable conduct, and a large fortune worthily employed, are the ornaments of the states to which they belong.

Mr. Monroe, who had previously been governor of the state of Virginia, is the same individual who has since been President of the United States for eight years, and justified in that high office the confidence of his fellow citizens.

Marbois, who was engaged to negotiate with them, had been employed for thirty-five years in public affairs of great importance for which his qualifications had been a correct judgment, and a character thoroughly independent. He had, during the whole war of the American Revolution, re-

[1] *History of Louisiana*, p. 279.

sided near the Congress. The affairs of this new power had long been familiar to him, and those of the southern continent had become equally so by a particular circumstance. The French Directory, whose improper measures he had always opposed, had revenged themselves by banishing him to Sinnamari, and two years and a half of exile had made him still better acquainted with the wants and general condition of the colonies. . . .

The three negotiators had seen the origin of the American Republic, and for a long time back their respective duties had established between them an intercourse on public affairs, and an intimacy, which does not always exist between foreign envoys and the ministers of the power to which they are sent. They could not see one another again without recollecting that they had been previously associated in a design, conceived for the happiness of mankind, approved by reason and crowned after great vicissitudes by a glorious success. This good understanding of the plenipotentiaries did not prevent their considering it a duty to treat, on both sides, for the considerations most advantageous to their respective countries.

The high ideal Marbois had of the American Revolution is evident in these quotations, and also how strikingly the cordial relations of the negotiators facilitated the progress of this affair.

It may well be believed that Mr. Monroe, who arrived at Paris on the 10th of April, 1803, was struck with surprise to find how far the negotiations had progressed, and to learn the willingness of the French government to part with, not a single town and its inconsiderable adjacent territory, but "a vast portion of

America," four times the size of France itself. The United States had "asked for the mere right of navigating the Mississippi, and their sovereignty was about to be extended over the longest river of the world."

"Deliberation," to quote again from Marbois,[1] "succeeded to astonishment. The two joint plenipotentiaries, without asking an opportunity for concerting measures out of the presence of the French negotiator, immediately entered on explanations, and the conferences rapidly succeeded one another."

There were two questions to be considered by the ministers for the United States:

1. Was it desirable to secure the whole of Louisiana?
2. What price should they give for it?

Although the instructions were particularly full and complete, yet these questions, being wholly unthought-of by the home government, were not touched on, or even hinted at in their letters. But, novel and unlooked-for as they were, they seem to have caused little delay or hesitation. In twenty days from the arrival of Mr. Monroe the entire ground had been gone over, the transfer agreed upon, the price fixed, the preliminaries arranged, and the papers drawn and signed.

These papers consisted of three separate conventions. By the terms of the first, France ceded Louisiana to the United States "forever and in full sovereignty." By the second, the United States agreed to pay France

[1] *History of Louisiana*, p. 281.

twelve million dollars. By the third, the United States assumed the payment of the claims or debts due to American citizens by the government of France, estimated to be three million dollars.

It will be seen from this agreement that what M. Marbois has stated in his history was true—that the "good understanding of the plenipotentiaries did not prevent their considering it a duty to treat, on both sides, for the conditions most advantageous to their respective countries." At least this was true in so far as it concerned M. Marbois himself, since it appears that Napoleon had limited himself to ten million dollars, and he secured fifteen millions.

It is stated that the article which guaranteed full citizen rights to the people of Louisiana was prepared by Napoleon himself, and that in speaking of it he used the following words:

> Let the Louisianians know[1] that we separate ourselves from them with regret; that we stipulate in their favor everything that they can desire, and let them hereafter, happy in their independence, recollect that they have been Frenchmen, and that France, in ceding them, has secured for them advantages which they could not have obtained from a European power, however paternal it might have been. Let them retain for us sentiments of affection; and may their common origin, descent, language, and customs perpetuate the friendship.

The conventions, signed April 30, 1803, were

[1] Marbois, p. 293.

immediately transmitted to the United States, ratifications were exchanged in October, and the province was surrendered and transferred in the usual form on the 20th of December in the same year.

Is it possible properly to appreciate the significance of this transfer?

1. It comprehended the acquisition by the United States, in reality at a nominal price, of a vast amount of territory, watered by exceptionally large and navigable rivers, with a fertile soil and an excellent climate.

2. This transfer was made to a growing, young republic, contiguous to the territory acquired, by one of the foremost of the ambitious powers of Europe.

3. The territory was not conquered or forced from France at the close of a war, for indemnity or reparation, but the transfer was a friendly and peaceful one, by fair bargain and purchase for a price named and accepted.

This may well be regarded as a novel proceeding. Whether we consider the vast extent of territory, its subsequent value and importance, or the manner in which the transfer was made, it is probably without precedent in all history.

The three ministers, their hearts animated by motives of the purest patriotism, seemed to be imbued with a sentiment superior to glory. "Never, perhaps, did negotiators taste a purer joy. As soon as they had signed the treaties, they rose and shook hands, and

Livingston said: 'We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art, or dictated by force. Equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; and the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America.' ''[1]

Having signed the treaty, Napoleon is reported to have said as he laid down the pen: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride."[2]

Imagine, now, if possible, the sensation created, not only in government circles at Washington, but throughout the United States, when the news reached these shores that our ministers had negotiated such a treaty. The two great political parties then, as always, were divided by their different interpretations of the Constitution. One party was, and has always been, "strict constructionists," and the other, "broad" or "loose constructionists." The President, Mr. Jefferson, was the great apostle of the "strict constructionists." What should he do with the treaty? The Constitution clearly gave him no power to increase our territory. It would be extremely

[1] Marbois, pp. 310–11.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 312.

hazardous to reject the treaty, already so advantageously negotiated. What should he do?

For a time President Jefferson hesitated. He had been willing to take the responsibility of acquiring a small district which he deemed necessary for the common defense of the country, and for the free navigation of the Mississippi, which was the commercial channel for nearly one half of the republic; but he hesitated to sanction a treaty which would more than double our territory, and perhaps bring a train of consequences utterly impossible to foresee.

Even after he had decided to accept the treaty, he still thought he ought to submit the question to the several states in the form of a proposed amendment to the Constitution, granting the government power to acquire foreign territory. He, however, finally gave his consent to the treaty and sent it to the Senate, where it was ratified.

Mr. Anderson, in his *Popular History of the United States*, says of him: "True, he held the acquisition to be unconstitutional, but he threw to the winds the resolutions which had just brought him into power; he broke the Constitution and he gained an empire. Can it properly be said that the acquisition of territory is unconstitutional? The Constitution does not prohibit it. Is it not more accurate to say that such a measure is merely extra-constitutional, as many later acts of government have been? But, at all events, if

we do not say that he 'broke the Constitution,' yet he did 'gain an empire.' " [1]

It may seem strange to us at this day that the purchase of so large and important a territory at so reasonable a price should have occasioned any great dissension among the people of our country. But such was the case. No one, however, will now regret the ratifying of that treaty by which our government obtained complete control of the great interior basin, and extended our domain to the Rocky Mountains and the tablelands of Mexico.

This great province was bounded on the north by the possessions of Great Britain; on the east by the Mississippi River; on the south by the Gulf of Mexico; and stretched to the west with boundaries undefined. We shall find, moreover, that it gave us a claim to Texas, and that on its purchase our government based a claim to the Oregon Country west of the Rocky mountains. This undefined western boundary has been the cause of much confusion and uncertainty. Nothing is plainer, however, than that the proper western limit of the Louisiana Purchase was the Rocky Mountains. No good argument can be found showing that the French had any rights or ever made any claim beyond these mountains. The charter granted to

[1] *Popular History of the United States*, p. 198. In a note to the author, Mr. Anderson says the above is quoted from an address by Edward Everett, given many years ago in New York.

Crozat in 1712 included only the territories drained by the Mississippi.

Robert Greenhow, who is excellent authority on this question, says:

> We are forced to regard the boundaries indicated by nature, namely, the highlands separating the waters of the Mississippi from those flowing into the Pacific or the Californian Gulf, as the true western boundaries of the Louisiana, ceded to the United States by France in 1803.[1]

When the obscurity of the western boundary was mentioned by Marbois to Napoleon, in returning an account of the conference, Napoleon is reported to have said: "If an obscurity did not already exist, it would perhaps be good policy to put one there."[2]

When Canada was granted to Great Britain, in 1763, the French certainly ceded only what they possessed. "It is as a consequence of that treaty, that England has occupied territory to the west as far as the great Northern ocean."[3] As against England we might with equal force and justice claim to the Pacific.

But Marbois plainly says, in speaking at length on this subject: "The shores of the western ocean were

[1] *History of Oregon*, p. 283. Robert Greenhow was for many years translator and librarian of the Department of State at Washington, and by direction of the Senate prepared, in 1840, a *Memoir, Historical and Political, on the Northwest Coast of North America.* In 1844, he published his *History of Oregon and California.*

[2] Marbois, p. 286.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

certainly not included in the cession."[1] And again he says: "The treaty of cession to the United States meant to convey nothing beyond the Rocky Mountains."[2]

The Spanish government at first protested against the transfer of Louisiana by France to the United States, but its opposition was abandoned, and the next year (1804) a negotiation was commenced at Madrid between that government and the United States, looking to the adjustment of the lines which separated their respective territories. In this negotiation our country claimed the whole coast on the Gulf of Mexico as far west as the Bravo Del Norte, now called the Rio Grande,—which the United States then claimed was the northeastern boundary of Mexico,—with all the intermediate rivers, and all the countries drained by them.[3]

This question of boundaries with Spain remained undetermined until the Florida treaty in 1819, when it was definitely settled, as we shall see later on. We shall find, also, when our claims to Oregon come to be considered, a further treatment of the western boundary of Louisiana. It seems necessary to consider somewhat fully this subject, both here and there, because so little has been known concerning it and such erroneous views have been held, even by persons in authority.

[1] Marbois, p. 286. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 290.
[3] See Greenhow's *History of Oregon and California*, p. 280.

By this single purchase we more than doubled our territory and acquired undisputed possession of about nine hundred thousand square miles, extending from the Gulf of Mexico on the south to the British possessions on the north, and from the Mississippi on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west.

From this immense territory twelve states have been admitted into the Union, leaving at present the territory of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. The states, which together have a population of over 14,000,000, are the following: Louisiana, admitted in 1812; Missouri, admitted in 1821; Arkansas, admitted in 1836; Iowa, admitted in 1845; Minnesota, admitted in 1858; Kansas, admitted in 1861[1]; Nebraska, admitted in 1867; Colorado, admitted in 1876[2]; North Dakota, admitted in 1889; South Dakota, admitted in 1889; Montana, admitted in 1889;[3] Wyoming, admitted in 1890.[4]

[1] Nearly all of Kansas came from the Louisiana territory. The southwest corner, south of the Arkansas River, and west of the hundredth meridian, was from the Texas annexation.

[2] About half of Colorado came from this Louisiana territory; the southeastern part, south of the Arkansas River, came from Texas; and the entire western section, beyond the Rocky Mountains, from the Mexican cession.

[3] Nearly all of Montana lies east of the mountains. That part came from the Louisiana purchase. The section beyond the mountains was originally a part of the Oregon country.

[4] The greater part of Wyoming was from the Louisiana province. The southern part, below the forty-second parallel and west of the one hundred and sixth meridian, came from the Mexican cession. A small

It would be an interesting and not altogether profitless speculation to consider what would have been the effect on the United States had Napoleon been permitted to carry out his scheme of building a great French colony in that territory, which is now nearly the geographical centre of our republic, and where will sometime be the centre of its population.

At that time the entire population of the states and territories in the Mississippi valley, or, in other words, all west of the Alleghany Mountains, was less than half a million. The entire white population of the Louisiana province, including the city and the island of New Orleans, was less than fifty thousand. But, even then, the tide of emigration had fairly set westward into the Mississippi valley. The half million has now become twenty-five millions, the fifty thousand has become fourteen millions, while the centre of population is already northwest of the Ohio River beyond the state of Ohio, and is pushing onward towards the Mississippi River.

Thus rapid has been the development of this great basin, under the fostering care of republican institutions, aided by the commercial advantages of its great river channels. But if a European monarchy had held the entire country beyond the river and had kept control of both banks at its mouth, the commerce

portion of the western part, north of the forty-second parallel and west of the Divide, came from the Oregon country.

of our Western states would have been effectually checked. Free communication by water with the Eastern states and other countries would have been shut off and the Mississippi would have proved an impassable barrier to the tide of emigration. The sources of our growth and wealth would have been materially lessened, our expansion checked, our resources crippled, and our power diminished. If all this had not occurred, war would have resulted from constant irritation and continual misunderstandings. We should, by bloody strife, have acquired that great territory of which, as providentially happened, we took peaceable possession by purchase.

The result has clearly proved that this acquisition of the Province of Louisiana was wise and judicious, and it established a precedent which has been repeatedly followed.

CHAPTER IV

FLORIDA

SETTLEMENTS in Florida were the first in the United States. In many text-books on United States history, until within a few years, Jamestown, Virginia, has been put down as the oldest town in this country. It was the first permanent settlement in the territory covered by the original United States. But St. Augustine was settled by the Spanish under Menendez, forty-four years earlier, on September 8, 1565, the colony numbering about fifteen hundred persons. Ribault, a Frenchman, with a small colony of Huguenots, had attempted a settlement at Port Royal, in South Carolina, in 1562, but the troubled condition of Europe prevented their receiving reinforcements and supplies, and, becoming disheartened, they returned home in 1563.

The next year another colony of French Huguenots, under the patronage of Coligny, landed and settled near the St. John River, in Florida. The leader of this expedition was Laudonnière, "a man of uprightness and intelligence." When Philip II. of Spain heard

that the French—"French Protestants"—had made a settlement in Florida, he sent out a large colony under Pedro Menendez to destroy them and plant a Spanish colony in their place. The French colonists were murdered in cold blood, and only a few of them, with Laudonnière, escaped to France. Menendez then founded a colony which he called St. Augustine. It is the oldest town in the United States.

Florida remained in the possession of Spain until 1763. By the treaty between Great Britain and Spain at the close of the war commonly called "The French and Indian War," the whole of Florida was ceded by Spain to Great Britain in exchange for Cuba. It remained an English province — or rather two provinces, East Florida and West Florida — until the treaty of 1783, when Great Britain re-ceded it to Spain in exchange for the Bahama Islands. The province of East Florida extended westward to the Appalachicola River, and the province of West Florida extended from the Appalachicola to the Mississippi. By the treaty of 1795 it was agreed in Article III. that:

"In order to carry the preceding article into effect one Commissioner and one Surveyor shall be appointed by each of the contracting parties, who shall meet at the Natchez, on the left side of the river Mississippi, before the expiration of six months from the ratification of this convention, and they shall pro-

ceed to run and mark this boundary according to the stipulations of the said article."

In accordance with this agreement, President Washington appointed, in 1796, Mr. Andrew Ellicott, of Philadelphia, commissioner on the part of the United States to run this boundary between the United States and the Spanish colonies of East and West Florida. This was the first international boundary line run between the United States and any foreign territory.

Andrew Ellicott was a native of Pennsylvania, and lived from 1754 to 1820. He was one of the most noted surveyors of his time. In 1790 he was employed by the national government to survey and lay out the city of Washington, which he did under the guidance of President Washington and the French engineer, Major L'Enfant. Two years later he was made Surveyor-General of the United States.

He received his commission to run the Florida boundary in September, 1796, and started at once to discharge this duty. He must go down the Mississippi River in order to reach the place of beginning near Natchez. He arrived at Pittsburg in six weeks, where he bought his supplies and received his military escort, and on the 24th of October they started down the Ohio River in three boats. After many vexatious delays he reached Natchez, February 24, 1797. Here he was detained for an entire year by difficulties with the authorities and the unwarrantable slowness of the

Spanish commissioner, Governor Gayoso. He began running the boundary from Clarksville on the 10th of April, 1798. At that time the Spanish commissioner had not arrived nor did he appear until the very last day of May. Ellicott required him to accept what he had already done, and they proceeded. They encountered many swamps and experienced numerous and diverse difficulties, but they persevered and pushed on slowly until, about the 1st of December, they reached the Pearl River, now the eastern boundary of the state of Louisiana. They were delayed some time here, and in January, 1799, Ellicott went by water to New Orleans for supplies. There he purchased a vessel in which to transmit these supplies and sailed away for Mobile. While in New Orleans he hired two "completely illiterate" sailors, and with their help, himself acting as captain, although he had never been at sea, he sailed his vessel down the Mississippi and across the gulf to Mobile Bay.

Ellicott drew up a report of their operations and made four copies, two in English and two in Spanish, which were signed by himself and the Spanish commissioner, confirming all the work done before June 7, 1798. After that date the work was done, on the part of Spain, under the direction at first of William Dunbar, and afterwards of Captain Minor. From Mobile eastward they had much trouble with the Creek Indians. They reached the Chattahoochee River in

August, 1799, and left there for the Flint River the 20th of that month.

From the Mississippi to the Chattahoochee the boundary line was due east on the 31st parallel of latitude. From the 31st parallel they were to descend the Chattahoochee to its junction with the Flint. From the point where these two rivers come together and make the Appalachicola the boundary was to be a straight line to the head waters of the St. Mary's River, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, thence by the middle of the stream down said river to the Atlantic Ocean.

The obstacles now became more serious. The Seminole Indians were thievish and constantly stole their horses. The country was covered with a thick growth of underbrush and small trees through which a path had to be cut all the way. Moreover, they were entirely ignorant of the proper direction, since the latitude of the source of the St. Mary's was not known.

Convinced at last that it would be impossible to get through this country, Ellicott determined to sail round Florida and go up the St. Mary's. On the 18th of October, 1799, in a schooner of forty tons, he set sail with a part of his company of land surveyors, his military escort, and his two "completely illiterate" sailors. The others were to make their way, if possible, across country to the St. Mary's. They soon encountered a violent gale, but they weathered it and passed Tampa

Bay, October 27th. On the 12th of November they espied a sloop in the distance, and the question was raised at once, "What vessel is that?" The general opinion was that it was a Yankee prize, which had been captured by a French privateer. It must be remembered that the United States was at that time practically in a state of war with France, although President Adams and Congress had prudently avoided declaring war, and, soon after, the difficulties were settled by the treaty of 1800. Ellicott set all sail and bore away in chase. He fired a gun across the bows of the strange vessel and brought her to. Her master, with the ship's papers, came on board Ellicott's schooner. The vessel proved to be a Spanish sloop which had been captured by a privateer from New Providence. Ellicott apologized, dismissed the captain, and sent him on his way rejoicing.

In the Gulf Stream they again met a severe storm on the 13th of November, and five days later they were brought to by a New Providence privateer, Captain William Ball. At first he was insolent, but when Ellicott showed him his commission, signed by President George Washington, Captain Ball examined it with all attention and as much "reverence as if it had been a church relic," handed it back with an apology, made compensation for his insolence, gave Ellicott a fine sea turtle, wished him a pleasant voyage, and went on his way.

On the 9th of December they reached the St. Mary's and met their companions, who had succeeded in making their way through the wilderness from the Flint River. Ellicott now ascended the river to its source, determined the exact latitude and longitude of this point, and erected a large heap of stones, which to this day is called "Ellicott's Mound." On the 10th of April, 1800, he finished his survey, on the 25th sailed away, and reached Savannah the 1st of May. At evening on May 17th he anchored his vessel in the Delaware River at Philadelphia, and saluted his family, from whom he had been separated by this arduous and hazardous undertaking for nearly four years.

Having gained a foothold on the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi, it was soon discovered that the United States needed the control of all the ports and the entire coast between Louisiana and Georgia. It became evident, therefore, that it was only a question of time when we should secure, by purchase or otherwise, the Spanish provinces of East and West Florida.

Negotiations with Spain were continued for several years, with the intention of settling a long list of claims made by this country against the Spanish government, and of securing by peaceable cession possession of their Florida provinces. During these long-continued negotiations the conduct of the Spanish government was of such character as to render it extremely

difficult to reconcile her position with honor or statesmanship. At last, after vexatious delays, a treaty by which Florida was ceded to the United States was signed on the 22d of February, 1819, by John Quincy Adams and Luis de Onis, both being properly accredited ministers of their respective governments for this purpose. The treaty was promptly ratified by our government, but, consistently with the repeated procrastinations of Spain, already so vexatiously experienced, it was not ratified by the king of Spain until October 24, 1820. The ratifications were exchanged February 22, 1821, proclaimed the same day, and the sovereignty was formally transferred in July of that year.

This treaty was important in several particulars. It transferred to the United States the entire country east of the province of Louisiana and south of the original territory of the United States, for which we were to pay a sum not exceeding $5,000,000 to our citizens, by way of liquidating claims against the Spanish government. This gave us undisputed control of the coast from Maine to Texas.

The third article of the treaty defined the boundaries between the United States and the Spanish provinces of North America. Up to this time we had claimed Texas as being a part of the Louisiana Purchase. France had ceded to us all her right, title, and claims to the province of Louisiana. Her title was

based on the cession of the same to France by Spain in 1800, by the treaty of San Ildefonso; but this treaty re-ceded to France just what France had ceded to Spain in 1763. Whatever was ceded in 1763 was ceded to us in the treaty of 1803, but in this treaty the "western boundaries were undefined." The title of France to Texas had been a matter of dispute; France had always claimed that it belonged to her, and Spain had resisted that claim.

The title of France was based on her discoveries and settlements. The French under La Salle had landed a colony of 280 persons at Matagorda Bay, near the southwest corner of Texas, in 1685. La Salle had previously discovered the Ohio River (in 1671) and had sailed down the Illinois and the Mississippi, reaching the Gulf of Mexico, April 9, 1682. He named the region Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV., the reigning monarch of France. After returning to his native land in 1683, he recrossed the Atlantic with a colony in 1684, and, failing to find the mouth of the Mississippi, he sailed by, and finally landed in March, 1685, in Matagorda Bay, and built a fort. His colony becoming much reduced in numbers, he decided to leave there and endeavor to reach Canada by land. He was murdered by his own men on the banks of Trinity River, March 19, 1687.

From this priority of settlement, the French claimed that their province of Louisiana extended to

the Rio Grande, and after 1803 we held to the same claim. Spain never acknowledged the validity of this claim, yet we had never abandoned it. Indeed, the Chevalier de Onis, who negotiated the Florida treaty, himself decided that this treaty, in giving up Texas to Spain, might with greater clearness have been expressed thus: "In exchange, the United States cede to his Catholic Majesty the province of Texas, etc."[1] At that time, however, the future importance of Texas was not foreseen, and we were not specially averse to yielding it in exchange for the claims of Spain to Oregon.

Accordingly, the third article of this Florida treaty defined the boundaries as follows:

The boundary line between the two countries, west of the Mississippi, shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo or Nachitoches, or Red River; then following the course of the Rio Roxo, to the degree of longitude 100° west from London, and 23° from Washington; then, crossing the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the river Arkansas; thence, following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas, to its source, thence due north to latitude 42°; and thence by that parallel to the South sea. The whole being as laid down in Mellish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the first of January, 1818. But if the

[1] Greenhow's *History of Oregon and California*, p. 317, note.

source of the Arkansas River shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42°, then the line shall run from the said source due south or north, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude 42°, and thence along the said parallel to the South Sea: All the Islands in the Sabine, and the said Red River and the Arkansas River, through the course thus described, to belong to the United States; but the use of the waters, and the navigation of the Sabine to the sea, and of the said rivers Roxo and Arkansas, throughout the extent of the said boundary, on their respective banks, shall be common to the respective inhabitants of both nations.

The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims and pretentions, to the territory described by said line, that is to say: The United States hereby cede to His Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims and pretentions, to the territories lying west and south of the above described line; and in like manner, His Catholic Majesty cedes to the said United States all his rights, claims and pretensions to any territories east and north of said line, and for himself, his heirs and successors, renounces all claims to the said territories forever.[1]

This third article is here given in full because of its importance not only in reference to Texas, but in relation to Oregon also. By it we yielded all claim to Texas, and Spain gave us all her right to Oregon. In the subsequent discussion of our claims to Oregon the importance of this article will be apparent.

But the course of events cannot easily be foreseen.

[1] *Treaties and Conventions between the United States and other Powers*, pp. 787–8.

Before this boundary line, as determined by the above article, could be surveyed by a joint commission, Mexico had revolted from Spain and set up an independent government. By a treaty concluded with Mexico, January 12, 1828, ratified and proclaimed April 5, 1832, it was agreed as follows:

> The dividing limits of the respective bordering territories of the United States of America and of the United Mexican States, being the same as were agreed upon and fixed by the above mentioned treaty of Washington [i. e., with Spain], . . . the two high contracting parties will proceed forthwith to carry into full effect the third and fourth articles of said treaty. . . . To fix their lines with more precision and to place the landmarks which shall designate exactly the limits of both nations, each of the contracting parties shall appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who shall meet before the termination of one year from the date of the ratification of this treaty, at Natchitoches, on the Red River, and proceed to run and mark the said line, . . . and the result agreed upon by them shall be considered as part of this treaty.[1]

In accordance with this treaty the line was run and marked with proper bounds. But the sequel proved that we yielded Texas to Spain only to have her lose it in 1821 by the independence of Mexico, and Mexico lose it in 1836 by its own independence, after which it naturally gravitated toward the greater republic, and finally its fortunes were joined with ours by a vote of annexation, passed by Congress, March 2, 1845.

[1] *Treaties and Conventions*, pp. 542–3.

CHAPTER V

TEXAS AND NEW MEXICO

THE history of the annexation of Texas, if fully written, would form an interesting chapter in the political annals of our country. We may not be able rightly to judge of the motives and intentions of those who controlled our national government in this extension of territory, but so far as it was designed to protect, extend, and perpetuate the system of American slavery, it must be considered a failure. In the light of to-day, it can hardly be supposed that slavery acquired any greater strength, or was continued in this country any longer, on account of this annexation.

In 1836, Texas declared herself independent of Mexico and framed and adopted a constitution; and General Sam Houston was inaugurated President of the Republic of Texas. There is little doubt that this revolution was encouraged, if not aided, by the statesmen of the Southern states of our Union. Calhoun said: "There were powerful reasons why Texas should be a part of this Union. The Southern states, owning a large slave population, were deeply interested in

preventing that country from having power to annoy them." One of the last official acts of President Jackson was to acknowledge the independence of Texas.

For eight years, from 1836 to 1844, the question of annexation was warmly discussed in every quarter of the country. The North generally opposed it; the South was almost unanimously in favor of it. It was plainly apparent that the soil, climate, and productions of Texas were such as to make slave labor profitable. On this very account the free states opposed and the slave states favored its admission to the Union. The slavery question had come to be the foremost topic in American politics. Disguised as it might be, every political issue must be judged and decided, not on its intrinsic merits, but by its effect on the question of slavery.

Hang a map of North America on the wall. Place a pointer along the western edge of the original thirteen states, upon the general line of the Alleghany Mountains, with its foot resting on the Gulf of Mexico. It leans to the northeast, but shows nearly an equal width of Northern and Southern states between it and the Atlantic.

Place it now along the line of the Mississippi, the extreme western border of the original country, and it stands upright, showing a wider strip of northern territory than of southern. But should the stick be so placed as to indicate our western border, after the pur-

chase of Louisiana, it leans to the northwest, and if we include Oregon, the North stretches entirely across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, while the South was still confined between the Atlantic coast and the Sabine River. Or, to make the discrepancy more apparent, name the States along the northern and along the southern frontiers: 1, Maine; 2, New Hampshire; 3, Vermont; 4, New York; 5, Pennsylvania; 6, Ohio; 7, Michigan; and the broad territory, since carved into, 8, Wisconsin; 9, Minnesota; 10, Dakota; and 11, Montana—a distance, in a direct line from east to west, of fifty degrees of longitude, or nearly three thousand miles; while on the southern border were included only, 1, Florida; 2, Alabama; 3, Mississippi; and 4, Louisiana; an east and west distance of only twelve degrees of longitude, or about seven hundred miles. Naturally enough, the slave-holding South wanted more territory to counterbalance the North.

The question of slavery had proved a vexatious problem from the very beginning. England had fostered the introduction of African slavery into her colonies. New England had been largely engaged in the slave trade, but slave labor had proved more profitable at the South than at the North. Before the adoption of the United States Constitution, it was clearly seen that slavery would soon be extinct at the North. At the same time the leading statesmen both north and

south, including such men as Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson, had expressed themselves, in no uncertain terms, against slavery as an institution.

The invention of the cotton-gin changed the aspect of the case materially. It made cotton-raising the leading industry of the South, and slave labor in the cultivation of cotton became vastly more profitable. From that time onward the relations of North and South, or, as it soon came to be, of the free states and the slave states, became less and less cordial. Even as early as 1787, in the convention which framed the Federal Constitution, the slave question was the most troublesome of all. Compromises, however, were effected, and finally the Constitution was agreed to by both parties. This was only brought about by means of the plan adopted for the two houses of Congress. The basis of membership in the House of Representatives was population; and here the North soon had the advantage. The basis in the Senate, on the other hand, was the equality of the states; two Senators, and two only, were allowed to each state.

At the beginning of the new century (1800), there were sixteen States. Eight of these—New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—were practically free states. The other eight, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, were slave states.

DOMINION OF CANADA
Saskatchewan River
Lake Winnipeg
Fraser River
VANCOUVER I.
Cape Flattery
WASHINGTON
Olympia
Columbia R.
Portland
Salem
OREGON
Snake R.
DAHO
Boise
MONTANA
Butte
Helena
Missouri R.
Yellowstone
YELLOWSTONE PARK
WYOMING
NORTH DAKOTA
Bismarck
SOUTH DAKOTA
Pierre
Red River of the North
MINNESOTA
IOWA
Omaha
NEBRASKA
Platte R.
Cheyenne
Lincoln
Denver
Colorado Springs
COLORADO
Arkansas R.
KANSAS
Topeka
OKLAHOMA
Guthrie
INDIAN TERR.
Red R.
Great Salt Lake
Ogden
Salt Lake City
UTAH
Carson City
Sacramento
San Francisco
CALIFORNIA
MEXICAN CESSION OF 1848
Santa Fe
ARIZONA
Phœnix
NEW MEXICO
TEXAN ANNEXATION 1845
Austin
TEXAS
San Antonio
Galveston
Sabine R.
Rio Grande
SANTA BARBARA ISLANDS
Los Angeles
San Diego
MEXICAN CESSION OR GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
PACIFIC OCEAN
LOWER CALIFORNIA
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
Cape San Lucas
GULF OF MEXICO
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
Longitude West 107° from Greenwich
127° 122° 117° 112° 107° 102° 97°
55° 50° 45° 40° 35° 30° 25° 20°

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Let us follow the admission of new states for half a century. A free state and a slave state were admitted alternately. These admissions occurred in the following order:

FREE STATES.		SLAVE STATES.	
Ohio	1803	Louisiana	1812
Indiana	1816	Mississippi	1817
Illinois	1818	Alabama	1819
Maine	1820	Missouri	1821

Missouri was admitted as a slave state after a prolonged contest, which occasioned much bitter feeling on both sides. A compromise was effected by which Missouri was admitted as a slave state, with a provision forever prohibiting slavery in all of that territory purchased of France called the Province of Louisiana, which lay north of 36° 30′, except the state of Missouri. The feeling produced by this acrimonious debate in 1820 and 1821 was sufficient to occasion a long respite, an extended breathing spell, before another new state should be proposed for admission. Then the process went on as follows:

SLAVE STATES.		FREE STATES.	
Arkansas	1836	Michigan	1837
Florida	1845	Iowa	1846
Texas	1845	Wisconsin	1848

So long as this condition of things should last, neither section would have any material advantage over the other, as neither could pass any law which

might be opposed by the other. This was true because any bill proposed and passed by the House of Representatives, where the free states had a majority, must also be agreed to by the Senate, and there no majority could be obtained against the South or the slave states. On the other hand, if a bill originated in the Senate and was favorable to slavery, it could not obtain a majority of the votes in the House, where the free states were in the ascendancy.

It was, therefore, most natural that the statesmen of the South or the slave states, finding their territory so circumscribed, while the great Northwest was open to emigration from the northern free states, and knowing that the new states which would from time to time apply for admission from that section would inevitably be admitted as free states, should desire an increase of southern territory. This territory they must find in the northern provinces of Mexico. We have already seen that, through the efforts of Sam Houston and other emigrants from the South to Texas, that Mexican state had asserted its independence and established a republic. This was accomplished in 1836. The new republic of Texas soon began to knock at our door and ask for admission into the Union as a state. It was natural that the whole South should favor annexation. The territory of Texas covered about 300,000 square miles, out of which might be formed nearly forty states as large as Connecticut. It was

equally natural that the northern, or free, states should oppose this annexation.

In 1844, the Whig party nominated Henry Clay for President and adopted a "concise, loose-construction platform, advocating a national currency, a protective tariff, and a distribution of surplus revenue among the states." The Democratic party nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and adopted a "strict-constructionist platform, and an article demanding the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas."[1] This party took the cry of "Northwest and Southwest." Its watchword for the Northwest, designed to please the North, was "Fifty-four forty or fight." For the Southwest, upon which to rally the party at the South, it was "Texas and annexation; Hurrah for the Lone Star."

Mr. Polk was elected and took his seat March 4, 1845. Three days before, the joint resolution to annex Texas had been passed by both Houses and was immediately approved by the retiring President, John Tyler. The discussion of the Texas question largely occupied the attention of Congress during the session.

Mexico had abolished slavery, but, under the lead of the Southern states, Texas had re-established it. Propositions to prohibit slavery in Texas were voted down, but the resolution of annexation, as finally passed, prohibited slavery in any state that might be

[1] Johnston's *American Politics*, pp. 137, 138.

formed from it north of 36° 30′, and, south of that line, left the question to be settled by the people in the states as they were admitted.[1]

The terms of annexation were promptly accepted by Texas, July 4, 1845, and thus a territory larger than France or Spain was added to the republic. The government of Texas remained substantially as before, until a new constitution was passed by a convention which met at Austin, July 4, 1845, and completed its labors, August 27, 1845. This constitution was ratified by the people, October 13, 1845. Texas was then admitted as a state by joint resolution, approved December 29, 1845.[2]

In the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio, provision was made that this territory might be divided into not less than three nor more than five states. Similarly the resolution for the annexation of Texas contained a provision that "new states of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to the said state of Texas, and having sufficient population, may, by consent of said state, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution."[3]

Now, the South had apparently secured her share of the spoils. Texas had been annexed and there was

[1] Johnston's *American Politics*, pp. 139, 140.
[2] Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 1765.

ample room for slavery to expand. What should be the President's response to the question of the Northwest? Should he adhere to the cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight"?

In his inaugural address President Polk asserted that our title to the Oregon territory was "clear and indisputable," and, moreover, intimated that it was his intention to maintain it by arms. Subsequently, however, he found that amicable relations between our government and Great Britain were seriously disturbed. "England did not again offer to negotiate. A mere partisan watchword was in danger of involving the two nations in war. At length the President himself directed the Secretary of State (James Buchanan) to re-open negotiations by offering as the boundary the forty-ninth parallel."[1] Finally, the British government signified that it would accept the proposed boundary line. "The President was anxious to relieve himself of the responsibility of acting on the proposition."[2] He consulted the Senate, pledging himself to be guided by its decision. That body voted to accept the forty-ninth parallel, "and gave him a faithful support against himself, against his Cabinet, and against his peculiar friends."[3] So the treaty was signed and ratified.

The annexation of Texas brought on a war with

[1] Patton's *History of the United States*, p. 697.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 697. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 698.

Mexico. That country had never acknowledged the independence of Texas, and the boundaries between the two were in dispute. Texas claimed to the Rio Grande, while Mexico held that the Neuces River was the proper western boundary.

The constitution of the United Mexican States, adopted in 1824, in its enumeration of states, mentions the state of "Coahuila and Texas." In the constitution of the state frequent mention is made of its name, and in all cases it is called the "State of Coahuila and Texas." The fact is that "the two northeastern provinces of Mexico, not having sufficient population to enter the Mexican Union as separate states, were united as the 'State of Coahuila and Texas.'" [1] Therefore, when Texas established her independence of Mexico, in 1836, she claimed both sections, that is Texas proper and Coahuila, the former being comprised between the Sabine and the Neuces rivers, and the latter between the Neuces and the Rio Grande.

Mexico, however, disputed this claim, and as the new state was no longer called, as before, the State of Coahuila and Texas, but simply Texas, she insisted that the country between the Neuces and the Rio Grande was not within the limits of Texas. It should be remembered, also, that she had never acknowledged the independence of Texas. Meanwhile, Texas had

[1] Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*, vol. ii., p. 1727.

taken its place as a state in the Union, and prophecies of war were rife.

In July, 1845, General Taylor, Commander of the Southwestern Department, in obedience to orders from Washington, embarked at New Orleans and in August landed near the mouth of the Neuces. On the 1st of March, 1846, he received official orders from the President to advance, and on the 28th he arrived at the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras. The Mexican general on the opposite side of the river immediately sent him an order to return to the Neuces, and there remain "while our governments are regulating the pending questions relative to Texas." [1] General Taylor refused to comply and a battle ensued. This was really the beginning of the Mexican War. Congress immediately took action, raising more men and appropriating money, by an act beginning in the following manner:

"Whereas, by the act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States, Be it enacted, etc."

This war was begun in May, 1846, and was carried on until General Scott marched his little army of six thousand men into the City of Mexico and hoisted the Stars and Stripes over the national capital, September 14, 1847. A treaty of peace was finally negotiated at Guadaloupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, ratified by

[1] Greeley's *American Conflict*, vol. i., p. 187

the two governments, and proclaimed by President Polk July 4, 1848.

By this treaty Mexico agreed to the Rio Grande as her eastern boundary, and ceded to us the whole of New Mexico and Upper California, comprising about 600,000 square miles. We agreed to pay $15,000,000 and to assume and pay the debts due from Mexico to American citizens to the amount of $3,000,000. This territory now includes the states of California, admitted in 1850; Nevada, admitted in 1864; Utah, admitted in 1896; and the territories of New Mexico and Arizona, together with a portion of Colorado and Wyoming.

A dispute soon arose as to the boundary east of the river Colorado. Owing to the inaccuracies of the maps used in making the treaty of Guadaloupe, both countries claimed a section of land lying south of the Gila River, and known as the Masilla Valley. It was supposed that this valley was rich in minerals and would be of importance in the future as a path for a southern railroad to California. A treaty was, therefore, effected with Mexico, by which she ceded to us this valley for the round sum of $10,000,000. This is known as the "Gadsden Purchase." It was negotiated at Mexico by General James Gadsden, of South Carolina, December 30, 1853.

Thus, by the annexation of Texas and the purchase of the northern provinces of Mexico, we added in

round numbers another nine hundred thousand square miles to our territory, being about the same amount as the Louisiana Purchase, and somewhat more than the original extent east of the Mississippi, with the addition of Florida.

CHAPTER VI

CALIFORNIA

OF the territory secured by the United States from Mexico, the most important section proved to be the California country. The discovery of gold hastened the settlement of that region and its subsequent development has been rapid. About the year 1720, Captain George Shelvocke, of the British navy, was cruising along the coast of California, under commission from the king of England "to cruise on the Spaniards." He anchored near the coast and, with officers and men, went ashore to explore the country. In a published account of his voyage, Captain Shelvocke said:

The coast appears to be mountainous, barren and sandy, and very like some parts of Peru; but nevertheless, the soil about Puerto Seguro (and very likely in most of the valleys) is a rich black mould, which, as you turn it fresh up to the sun, appears as if intermingled with gold-dust, some of which we endeavored to wash and purify from the dirt; but though we were a little prejudiced against the thought that it would be possible that this metal should be so promiscuously and universally mingled with common earth, yet

we endeavored to cleanse and wash the earth from some of it; and the more we did, the more it appeared like gold; but in order to be further satisfied, I brought away some of it, which we lost in our confusion in China.

From this account it would appear that this captain in the English navy came very near discovering gold in California.[1] The gold was there, but the time had not yet come when the fact should be made known to man. Nor was it known so long as Spain held possession of that country. Just a hundred years later, Mexico became independent of Spain, but the Spanish

[1] The above extract from Captain Shelvocke's narrative is quoted from a book entitled *The Atlantic to the Pacific*, by John Erastus Lester, published in London, 1873, by Longmans, Green & Co. Mr. Lester quotes the title of Captain Shelvocke's narrative as follows: "A Voyage round the World by the way of the Great South Sea. Performed in the years 1719–20–21–22 in the *Speedwell* of London, of twenty-four guns and one hundred men (under His Majesty's Commission to cruise on the Spaniards in the late war with the Spanish Crown), till she was cast away on the island of Juan Fernandez in May, 1720; and afterwards continued in the *Recovery*, the *Jesu Maria*, and the *Sacra Familia*, etc. By Captain George Shelvocke, Commander of the *Speedwell*, *Recovery*, etc., in this expedition, MDCCXXVI."

Mr. Lester, in an address before the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1873, gave an interesting account of how he came across Captain Shelvocke's narrative. He said that a short time previously he was stopping for some time in the town of Golden, Colorado. Here he made the acquaintance of Captain Berthoud, the chief engineer of the Colorado Central Railway. In conversation with this gentleman one day, he learned that the Captain had in his possession an old book which contained an early mention of the existence of gold in California. The Captain produced the book and Mr. Lester made quotations from it. Captain Berthoud was a Frenchman, and had brought the book with him to this country many years before. In fact, it had belonged to his father before him, and was esteemed a rare volume.

race continued to control the country. Almost at the same time that the news of the treaty with Mexico, by which California became a part of the United States, spread over the country, the news also went everywhere that James Marshall had discovered gold in Captain Sutter's race-course.

Captain John Sutter was a native of Baden, of Swiss parentage. He came to this country when he was thirty years of age, and in 1838 crossed the Rocky Mountains, traveled through the Oregon country and Alaska, and finally went to California. In 1841, he built a fort on the site of the present city of Sacramento. In the early spring of 1848, he was erecting a sawmill to be propelled by water-power at Coloma, about forty miles from Sutter's fort. A ditch had been cut from the river above the mill, about a hundred and fifty yards in length; the frame of a mill had been put up; and the flood-gate which should let the water in upon the wheel had been put in its place. Then it was necessary to construct what is called a tail-race, to enable the water to escape freely from the mill to the river below. The ditch and tail-race together made a descent of perhaps fifteen or twenty feet. The ground through which this trench was cut had a stratum of sand about two feet deep on the surface, with clay below the sand, and intermixed with the sand and clay were stones of various shapes and sizes. Marshall was superintending the construction

of this mill. During the day he pried up the stones with crow-bars, and put them to one side. In the evening he raised the flood-gate and let the water run down through the tail-race all night. Thus the loose clay and sand were washed away and other stones were uncovered. One morning after the water had been shut off, Marshall was walking along the bank of the tail-race, when he discovered several pieces of bright metal in a pool of water in the bottom of the race. At once the thought came to him that this metal might be gold. He gathered it, and from its appearance and weight he satisfied his own mind that it was gold.

This was on the 19th of January, 1848. Marshall immediately communicated his discovery to Captain Sutter, and at first they determined to keep the matter a secret. It soon became known, however, and the news spread like wildfire over the world. It was this simple discovery that changed entirely the political history of our country. Up to this time Southern statesmen supposed they had succeeded in opening the way for an increase of slave-territory. They felt like saying to the North: "Now we are even with you. Admit a new state from the Northwest and we will admit a new state from the Southwest. Your people will emigrate to the west and carve new states out of the great Northwest territory. Our people will also emigrate west, and we will match your states with

additional southern states from our new Mexican provinces."

But when the existence of gold in such quantities became known, emigrants from the whole world turned their faces toward the Bay of San Francisco. The Sacramento Valley was soon filled with miners with pick and cradle. The yield from the gold fields was immense. The world has been enriched by it; but another result, which might be overlooked, must not escape our attention. More emigrants came to California from the Northern states than from the slave-holding South. Within two years from the date of the discovery of gold, California had more than one hundred thousand population.

In 1849, General Bennett Riley of the United States Army, who was in command of the Pacific Department, with headquarters at Monterey, and who was military governor of California until the admission of the state into the Union, called a convention to frame a state constitution. This convention met at Monterey, September 1, 1849, and adjourned October 13 of the same year. The constitution, which was largely modeled after that of the State of New York, was submitted to the people and ratified November 14, 1849. Congress passed an act for the admission of this state, which was approved September 9, 1850. In this constitution, Section 18 of the first article, which is a declaration of rights, reads as follows:

"NEITHER SLAVERY NOR INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE, UNLESS FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIME, SHALL EVER BE TOLERATED IN THIS STATE."

Thus California was admitted as a free state. This was not done without a severe struggle. In the convention which framed this constitution the contest was sharp and bitter, for the Southerners well knew the importance of the issue. The balance of power between the slave states and the free states would be broken if California came in as a free state. The entire South had favored the annexation of Texas and the resulting Mexican War, in the hope that this great increase of southern territory would enable them to keep the balance of power in the South, for as often as the North should offer a free state for admission in the Northwest the South could balance their vote in the senate by the admission of another state from the Southwest. Indeed, just as it had been provided in the ordinance of 1787 that five states could be carved out of the territory north of the Ohio, so on the admission of Texas it was agreed that this territory could be divided into five states. This has never been done, and there is no prospect that it will ever come to pass. After the admission of California, no new slave state was added to the Union. The secession of eleven states and the formation of the Southern Confederacy brought on the Civil War in 1861. President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation and the fifteenth

amendment to the United States Constitution abolished slavery and prohibited it forever in our republic.

The influx of a heterogeneous population into this almost unexplored country is perhaps unprecedented in history. In 1848, the white population of the entire territory of California and New Mexico was less than 100,000. To-day it is nearly 2,000,000. The population of California alone has increased from 25,000 to more than a million and a half. The city of San Francisco in 1847 had a population of 450. In 1900, it numbered more than 300,000. Nor has this section made more rapid progress in numbers than in wealth and in the development of its varied resources.

California is famous for many things. In the first place it has its natural scenery,—the grand domes of mountain peaks, notably the isolated cone of Mt. Shasta, snow-covered most of the year, with its extinct crater and its glaciers, the beautiful lakes among the Sierra Nevadas, and many other wonderful things. The Yosemite Valley and the "Big Trees," or the *Sequoia gigantea*, are the admiration of all beholders. Some of the great trees are over three hundred feet high and more than sixty feet in circumference. Visitors from all parts of the world make pilgrimages to the Yosemite and to the "Big Trees."

The agricultural products of this state are startling. Irrigation has done wonders here. Many sections which were formerly barren deserts have by irrigation

been made to produce immense crops. Wheat-fields, covering sometimes thousands of acres, fruit orchards, vineyards, dairies, and market-gardens abound in nearly all parts of the state. In Southern California oranges, lemons, peaches, nectarines, apricots, guavas, loquats, and olives, besides many other kinds of fruit, are raised for the market. The orange crop is probably as important as any, unless we except grapes and grape wine. The entire number of oranges for the year 1900–1901 sent east over the mountains to New York, Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other eastern markets reached the enormous amount of sixteen thousand car-loads. If the boxes containing these oranges were placed end to end, each box touching the next, they would reach from New York to San Francisco. This entire industry has been created within less than thirty years.

California continues to lead all other states, except Colorado, in the output of gold from its mines. The total production of the gold mines of California has for many years been from $10,000,000 to $25,000,000 annually. The largest production in any one year was $65,000,000 in 1853. The entire product in a half century is estimated to be more than $2,000,000,000.

The commerce of California is very large and is growing rapidly. San Francisco is the principal port of entry and its spacious harbor gives the city great advantages; and San Pedro and Santa Monica near

Los Angeles are important ports, and their commercial trade is increasing with great rapidity. At San Pedro the national government is now building an expensive harbor and breakwater. The growth of the city of Los Angeles has been phenomenal. In 1870, the population was about 10,000; in 1880, it was 20,000; in 1890, just about 50,000; and in 1900, more than 100,000.

The educational system of California is the great pride of the people. The State University at Berkeley, Leland Stanford, Jr. University at Palo Alto, other colleges, the normal schools, and the public schools, place this state in the front rank among the states of the Union.

To a stranger entering through the Golden Gate, the beautiful and commodious harbor of San Francisco, the great extent and variety of the shipping which there lies spread before his eyes seem to say to him: "California means commerce." Let him pass through the business streets of her great cities and he will say: "California means merchandise." On visiting her extensive and exceedingly productive mines, he will be impressed with the thought: "California means gold." When he has passed over her extensive wheat-fields, his exclamation will be: "California means agriculture." But when he has visited her schools and colleges, her reading rooms and libraries, her charitable and benevolent institutions, and her

large, costly, and well-filled churches, he will be compelled to say: "California means more than commerce, and merchandise, and gold, and agriculture:—it means an intelligent, liberal, and enlightened Christian civilization."

We have now considered our original territory east of the Mississippi; the large and important province of Louisiana, purchased of France in 1803; Florida, obtained by treaty with Spain in 1819; Texas, the largest state in our Union, annexed in 1845; and Northern Mexico, acquired in 1848. Texas alone comprises an area four times as large as the six New England states, or 225 times as large as Rhode Island.

Someone has said that our early statesmen supposed "that the Rocky Mountains will probably form the western boundary of the United States. Here will be situated the temple of the god 'Terminus,' and the population, instead of ascending and flowing over the mountains on to the ocean, will roll its last and highest surf at their feet. Still, to trace the confines of this empire is to enter upon that sea, which a great poet has described, where there is perpetual darkness and no navigator has sailed before; not because its bounds and limits are not well marked out, but there is neither among ourselves, nor in the history of the people that have gone before us, any one trace or circumstance that will assist us in designating its development with the least precision. The progress of the population

has already been an Arabian Night. And, even if the difficulty of maintaining the confederacy augments as the members recede from the center, nothing that has yet taken place furnishes a fact, or even a ground for speculation, to enable us to draw the chain where the old shall cease, and the new nation arise. The point of speculation is not only the sovereign difficulty, but so greatly has the progress already exceeded all anticipation on the subject (without either shaking or weakening the Union), that, with an elasticity certainly peculiar to this people, as well as to their institutions, their progeny will, undoubtedly, still continue to stretch themselves along the Yellowstone and the Missouri, their faces turned towards the setting sun, and their feelings and sympathies following the flow of the waters." [1]

But nowhere among the Rocky Mountains was destined to be the spot where "the temple of the god Terminus" should be situated; nor have we found that wide degrees of longitude weakened the Union. The course of "Empire" has been "Westward" during the entire history of our country, and it found no convenient stopping-place until its westward march was checked by the "Great South Sea."

[1] *United States Diplomacy*, vol. ii., pp. 120 *et seq.* Published in 1828.

CHAPTER VII

OREGON

THAT large extent of territory on the Pacific coast drained by the Columbia River has for more than half a century been an undisputed section of the United States. Before that for many years our title to it was in dispute. It will be necessary for us to consider, with some detail, the steps which led up to our final, absolute claim to the Oregon country.

The Spanish flag was, without doubt, the first to be carried along the Pacific coast. Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean at Darien, in 1513. After him Fernando Magellan, Hernando Cortes, Francisco de Ulloa, Cabrillo, Vizcaino, and others explored this coast, but not one of them discovered a river, or penetrated the land.

It would seem that the first English navigator to sail along our western coast was Sir Francis Drake, who made a "predatory cruise against the dominions and subjects of Spain." He advanced as far as 42° north latitude in the year 1579. It is also said that he went as far north as 48°. At any rate, it is pretty clear that the English in 1579 sailed along this coast

between the 38th and 43d degrees of latitude. "But it is certain that this same coast had already been seen in 1543 by the Spaniards under Ferrelo." [1]

In the year 1788, Lieutenant Meares sailed along the northwest coast, and two years later made a report to the British government in which he claimed that he had "actually entered the bay of Columbia." The British government claimed that this was two years before Gray discovered that river. In answer to this claim of Great Britain, which affected the question of the right by discovery, it may be sufficient to state the facts regarding the voyage. In 1787, two vessels were fitted out at the Portuguese Macao, near Canton in China, and they were placed under the direction of John Meares, who was a lieutenant in the British navy, but was at that time retired and on half pay. Meares sailed "in the ship *Felice* as supercargo; the other vessel, the brig *Iphigenia*, also carried a British subject, William Douglas, in the same capacity: both vessels were, however, commanded, ostensibly at least, by Portuguese captains; they were furnished with passports, and other papers, in the Portuguese language and granted by the Portuguese authorities of Macao, and showing them to be the property of Juan Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of that place. The instructions for the conduct of the voyage were written only in the Portuguese language, and contained

[1] Greenhow's *History of Oregon and California*, p. 76.

nothing whatever calculated to afford the slightest grounds for suspicion that other than Portuguese subjects were interested in the enterprise. Finally, the vessels sailed from Macao on the 1st of January, 1788, under the Portuguese flag, and there is no sufficient proof that any other was displayed by them during the expedition." [1]

From the full account of this expedition of Meares, as given in Greenhow's history of Oregon, it seems clear that the British government could not substantiate any claim to the Oregon region because of Meares's voyage. It is certainly safe to say that no explorer, British, Spanish, or otherwise, discovered the great river, now called the Columbia, which drains the greater part of the Oregon country, prior to 1792, when it was discovered by Captain Robert Gray.

George Vancouver, an English navigator, had sailed to the Northwest in 1791, as commander of the *Discovery*, to receive the surrender of Nootka from the Spaniards, who had been instructed by their government to give up that island to the British. He was also charged to make a survey of the coast northwards from latitude 30°. The narrative of his voyage was published after his death in three volumes, entitled *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World.* Vancouver gave his name to the large island off the coast of British Columbia.

[1] Greenhow, p. 172.

On the 29th of April, 1792, Vancouver wrote in his journal as follows:

At four o'clock a sail was discovered to the westward, standing in shore. This was a very great novelty, not having seen any vessel but our consort during the last eight months. She soon hoisted American colors, and fired a gun to leeward. At six we spoke her; she proved to be the ship *Columbia*, commanded by Captain Robert Gray, belonging to Boston, whence she had been absent nineteen months.[1]

During the interview between these two captains, Gray told Vancouver that he had discovered a river emptying into the Pacific, in the latitude of 46° 10′. Vancouver "gave little, or rather no credit, being content with his own examination of that part of the coast." On the day after his meeting with the Columbia, Vancouver wrote:

The river mentioned by Mr. Gray should, from the latitude he assigned to it, have existence in the bay south of Cape Disappointment. This we passed in the forenoon on the 27th; and as I then observed, if any inlet or river should be found, it must be a very intricate one, and inaccessible to vessels of our burden, owing to the reefs and broken water, which then appeared in its neighborhood. Mr. Gray stated that he had been several days attempting to enter it, which, at length, he was unable to effect, on account of a very strong outset. This is a phenomenon difficult to account for, as, in most cases where there are

[1] Greenhow, p. 233.

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outsets of such strength on a sea coast, there are corresponding tides setting in. Be that, however, as it may, I was thoroughly convinced, as were also most persons of observation on board, that we could not possibly have passed any safe navigable opening, harbor, or place of security for shipping, on this coast, from Cape Mendocino to the promontory of Classet, [Cape Flattery at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca;] nor had we any reason to alter our opinions, notwithstanding that theoretical geographers have thought proper to assert in that space the existence of arms of the ocean communicating with a mediterranean sea, and extensive rivers with safe and convenient ports.[1]

After leaving Vancouver, Captain Gray sailed away toward the mouth of the river, which he was sure existed, and into which he determined, if possible, to effect an entrance. Of his expedition Greenhow gives the following account:

After parting with the English ships, Gray sailed along the coast of the continent to the south, and on the 7th of May, he "saw an entrance which had a very good appearance of a harbor," in the latitude of 46 degrees, 58 minutes. Passing through this entrance, he found himself in a bay "well sheltered from the sea by long sandbars and spits," where he remained at anchor three days, engaged in trading with the natives; and he then resumed his voyage, bestowing on the place thus discovered the name of Bulfinch's Harbor, in honor of one of the owners of his ship.

At daybreak on the 11th, after leaving Bulfinch's Harbor, Gray observed "the entrance of his desired port, bearing east-south-east, distant six leagues"; and running into

[1] Greenhow, pp. 234, 235.

it with all sails set between the breakers (which Meares and Vancouver pronounced impassable) he anchored, at one o'clock, "in a large river of fresh water," ten miles above its mouth. At this spot he remained three days, engaged in trading and filling his casks with water, and then sailed up the river twelve or fifteen miles along its northern shore, where, finding he could proceed no farther, from having "taken the wrong channel" he again came to anchor. During the week which followed, he made several attempts to quit the river, but was constantly baffled, until, at length, on the 20th, he crossed the bar at its mouth by beating over it with a westerly wind, and regained the Pacific.[1]

The early Spanish navigators were the first to sail along the coast of the Oregon country. Although they made no settlements and failed to discover the river which drains this territory, yet their voyages of discovery would give them something of a claim to the territory. It is beyond dispute that Gray discovered the mouth of the river; and the United States could justly claim whatever advantage that discovery would bring. To make the claim sure, however, it was necessary to follow up the right of discovery by exploration and settlement.

At the very beginning of the nineteenth century, the people of the United States began to realize the prospective value of the territory west of the Mississippi River. By many the hope was still entertained that there might be some easy way across the country

[1] Greenhow, pp. 235, 236.

from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Ocean. It was hoped that a navigable river might be found near the headwaters of the Missouri emptying into the Pacific Ocean.

Early in the year 1803, President Jefferson determined to send out from the United States Army a party under competent leadership, which should explore the country traversed by the Missouri River, and then should seek and trace to its termination in the Pacific Ocean some stream, whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado, or any other, which might offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent for the purposes of commerce. The initiative for this exploring expedition was taken by the President before he had any thought or intention of buying the Louisiana province. He addressed a confidential message to Congress on the 18th of January, 1803, recommending such an expedition. Congress approved the plan, and Jefferson selected Captain Meriwether Lewis of the regular army to command the expedition. Meanwhile, our government had purchased from Napoleon the whole territory of the Missouri River.

Captain Lewis's party was not organized until the early spring of 1804. In March of that year, the President appointed William Clark second lieutenant, with orders to join Captain Lewis for his exploring expedition to the Pacific coast. The party was made up of Captain

Lewis, Lieutenant Clark, fourteen soldiers, nine young men from Kentucky, two Canadian boatmen, an interpreter, a hunter, and a negro servant of Lieutenant Clark.

During the summer of 1804, they ascended the Missouri River and encamped for the winter among the Mandan Indians, in latitude 47° 21′, in what is now North Dakota, about twenty miles north of the present city of Bismarck. On the 7th of April, 1805, they struck camp and began the difficult ascent of the Rocky Mountains. They passed the divide in September, and reached the mouth of the Columbia on the 15th of November, having traversed the entire distance down the Columbia and its branches, through what are now the states of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. They had traveled more than four thousand miles from their starting-point near the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi. The next winter was passed in an entrenched camp, near the south bank of the Columbia, on the western side of Young's Bay. In March, 1806, they began the ascent of the Columbia River on their homeward journey. They crossed the mountains on horseback, and in August re-embarked on the Missouri River, reaching St. Louis in September, after an absence of nearly two years and a half. A narrative of the expedition was prepared from materials furnished by Lewis and Clark, and was published in two volumes in 1814. The report demonstrated the

practicability of establishing a line of communication across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

This government expedition through the country drained by the Columbia furnished the grounds for the second claim of the United States to that great region, the claim by right of exploration.

The next step towards the possession of the Oregon country was that of settlement, and the first movement in this direction was made by John Jacob Astor. Mr. Astor came to the United States from Germany in 1783, when he was twenty years of age. On his voyage across the Atlantic he made the acquaintance of a furrier who told him of the great profits to be made by buying furs of Indians and white trappers, and selling them to the large dealers. Following this suggestion, he established himself in New York City, and developed a fur trade, dealing largely with the great English fur companies. As early as the year 1809, he conceived a scheme of national importance. His project was to establish a line of trading posts all the way from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean, to build up a central station near the mouth of the Columbia River, to acquire one of the Sandwich Islands, and establish a line of vessels between our Pacific coast and China and India.

Mr. Astor was fully aware of the opposition which he would meet from the British fur companies. The great Hudson Bay Company was very powerful, and

wherever it went had monopolized all trade. The Northwest Company, with headquarters at Montreal, was carrying on a large business with the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains. To avoid opposition, Mr. Astor at first proposed to unite with the Northwest Company, giving it a large interest in the business which he intended to establish. This Company, however, was already successful, and it was hoping to secure the mouth of the Columbia River before Mr. Astor's party could reach it. The members of the Northwest Company felt that they had the whole loaf, and they did not care to share it with the German American. They therefore declined his proposal.

Among the clerks of the Northwest Company were several men of experience and ability who were somewhat dissatisfied with their position, not having been promoted as they thought they deserved. With these men, Alexander McKay, Duncan McDougal, and Donald McKenzie, Mr. Astor negotiated. They were to be partners with Mr. Astor, receiving a share of the profits; but Mr. Astor was to furnish the entire capital. He selected as his chief agent, to represent him in the establishment, Mr. Wilson Price Hunt of New Jersey. These five men formed a company to be called "The Pacific Fur Company." Mr. Astor was to be at the head of the Company and manage its affairs in New York. He was to furnish vessels, goods, arms, ammunition, provisions, and all things

required for the enterprise at first cost and charges, to the extent, if needed, of four hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. Astor now planned two expeditions to the Columbia River, one by sea, the other by land. He secured a fine ship named the *Tonquin*, of 290 tons burden, mounting ten guns, and manned by a crew of twenty men. This vessel was placed in command of Captain Jonathan Thorn, a first lieutenant in the American Navy, on furlough for this purpose. Besides the crew on this vessel, there were thirty-three passengers. These passengers included Astor's partners, ten or twelve clerks, half a dozen boatmen, a ship carpenter, a cooper, a rigger, a calker, a blacksmith, and other mechanics. The voyage was made around Cape Horn, and a memorable voyage it was to all who were engaged in it. The best and most reliable account of this voyage was written by Gabriel Franchère, a Canadian,[1] who was one of the passengers.

Captain Thorn was an arbitrary and irascible man, and it may well be supposed that some friction would be inevitable between the passengers and the captain. An incident which occurred at the Falkland Islands, near the southern extremity of South America, will illustrate the condition of affairs. They anchored off these desolate rocks, and sent boats to the island for

[1] An exceedingly interesting story of the voyage of this ship, and the entire history of the settlement at the mouth of the Columbia, entitled *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains*, was written by Washington Irving.

fresh water. This was in the early part of December, 1810, which was good summer weather in that hemisphere. The water casks were put on shore and the cooper was to superintend filling them. The passengers erected a tent near the spring, and while the seamen were taking in water, roamed over the island for several days, killing wild geese and ducks and securing eggs. They also killed many seals. They stayed so long on the island that the captain became impatient and signalled for the boat to return. This signal was not seen, or at any rate not regarded, by those on shore. Some of the men were cutting grass for the hogs, and two of the partners had gone to the other side of the island to look for game. The roaring of the sea against the rock-bound shore prevented them from hearing the signal gun which had been fired from the ship. Captain Thorn then weighed anchor and made sail.

The eight men on shore, when they observed that the *Tonquin* was under way, crowded into a boat but twenty feet in length and rowed with all their might to reach the vessel, but they were unable to gain on her. They had already lost sight of the island and their case seemed desperate; they had no compass, and were ready to give up all hope of reaching the ship. Just then they observed the ship tacking and standing toward them. After rowing for three hours and a half, we may imagine that they were in "an ex-

cited state of feeling not easily described, when they were taken on board the vessel at about three o'clock in the afternoon."

The friends of these men had begged the captain not to put to sea without them, but he was deaf to their entreaties. He gave peremptory orders to weigh anchor, hoist sail, and proceed on the course. Finally, young Mr. Stuart, whose uncle was one of the party in the boat, "and who, seeing that the captain, far from waiting for them, coolly continued his course, stepped up to the captain pistol in hand, and threatened to blow his brains out unless he hove to and took them on board."[1] "We can hardly believe that the captain really intended to carry his threat into full effect, and rather think that he meant to let the laggards off for a long pull and a hearty fright. He declared, however, in his letter to Mr. Astor, that he was serious in his threats; and there is no knowing how far such an iron man may push his notions of authority."[2]

They continued their voyage, doubling Cape Horn on Christmas day, and sighted the snowy peaks of the Sandwich Islands in February. They arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River the last of March, and succeeded in getting over the bar, but only with difficulty. Early in April the vessel anchored in Baker's Bay, and a party under McDougal set out in a boat to determine the place of settlement. They selected a

[1] Franchère, p. 48.

[2] Irving's *Astoria*, vol. i., p. 63.

spot on the south bank of the river, a small peninsula called Point George, on the side of the promontory which juts out between the Columbia River and Young's Bay. The spot selected for the fort was back from the river some distance on an elevated plateau, which is now near the center of the city of Astoria.

McDougal and his party were glad to get out from under the dominion of the arbitrary captain, but Thorn's trials were not yet ended. The *Tonquin* was to coast along northwards, trading at the different harbors for furs, and to touch at Astoria on her return in the autumn. On the 5th of June the vessel got over the bar and sailed away in the Pacific towards the North with twenty-three persons on board. Captain Thorn continued his course and arrived in a few days at Vancouver's Island. On the way he had picked up an Indian from a canoe who agreed to accompany him and act as interpreter. This Indian warned Captain Thorn against the Indians of the locality where he had anchored, saying that they were utterly untrustworthy and revengeful. Captain Thorn, however, paying no attention to him, opened trade with the natives; and through treachery the captain, his vessel, and crew, were destroyed. Irving gives a graphic account of the disaster.[1]

It will be remembered that Mr. Astor intended to send a party overland in addition to the company

[1] Irving's *Astoria*, vol. i., pp. 116–123.

which was despatched by water on the *Tonquin*. This overland detachment consisted of about sixty men, under the chief agent, Mr. William Hunt. They ascended the Missouri River in boats for nearly fifteen hundred miles, and then took a westward course to the Rocky Mountains, which they crossed in September, 1811, near the head of the Yellowstone River. This was farther south than the pass of Lewis and Clark's crossing. Subsequent caravans learned a short route up the Platt River and through the South Pass, but the route taken by Mr. Hunt and his party was many hundred miles longer and far more difficult. Having crossed the Rocky Mountains, they pushed their way down the Snake River, through a country exceedingly difficult to traverse, where they were subject to extreme hardships. They came to the Columbia, succeeded in descending that river, and finally reached Astoria in separate parties during the months of January and February, 1812. They had been more than a year upon their perilous journey, and several of the number had perished on the way. Soon after the arrival of Hunt's party, they welcomed the first vessel from New York, the *Beaver*, which brought a third detachment for the settlement, under the leadership of Mr. Clark, and also some natives of the Sandwich Islands, who had been engaged as seamen or laborers.

The new settlement was now well under way. A

stockade and a blockhouse were built, and means were provided for repelling the enemy in case of assault or siege.

Let us consider for a moment the difficult situation in which those people found themselves. They were the only settlement of white people in that lone country on the shore of the great ocean, thousands of miles from their homes, their friends, and their national government. The Rocky Mountains seemed to them a barrier almost absolutely impassable. One company of them, it is true, had crossed this barrier, but amid the severest hardships, which again and again nearly brought destruction to the whole party. By water, a voyage of ten thousand miles and more lay between them and New York, and they had no vessel in which to return had they been so disposed. The only inhabitants of the country where they were endeavoring to effect a settlement, were North American Indians, most of whom were naturally hostile, and all of them could easily be made so. Indeed, to preserve friendship with any of them required the utmost care and the most dexterous manœuvering. Nor did these difficulties exhaust the list of their troubles.

Mr. Astor had made several mistakes in his plans. He was a native of Germany, and not to the manner born in this country. He knew well the strained relations between the United States and Great Britain at that time, yet he did not seem to be governed at

all in his plans by a knowledge of the situation. His first mistake was in offering to the Northwest Fur Company of Montreal, composed of British subjects, an interest in his enterprise. His second error was in associating with himself, as partners in the business, British subjects from Montreal. His third mistake was in placing McDougal in charge of affairs during the absence of Mr. Hunt. Indeed, Mr. Hunt should not have left Astoria for the Sandwich Islands as he did just at a critical time, although of course national affairs could not be known by him at that distant point.

The business, however, was prosperous; the trade in furs with the Indians was large and constantly increasing; and establishments were planted far up the Columbia and its branches. But in 1812 came our war with Great Britain. The news of the war penetrated even to that remote country—as it were, at the ends of the earth. There had already been some intercourse between Mr. Astor's agents and those of the British companies. Scarcely had McDougal and his company established themselves at Astoria, when Mr. Thompson, an agent of the Northwest Company, made them a visit. He was received by McDougal cordially, rather as a friend and brother than as the representative of a competing company. In 1813, a party of men connected with the Northwest Fur Company, seventy-five in number, came down the Columbia to Astoria in ten canoes, headed by McTavish and Stuart.

Negotiations immediately began between McDougal and McTavish, for the sale of Astoria to the Northwest Company. McDougal was then in full charge of the Pacific Fur Company, while Mr. Hunt was absent on a voyage to the Sandwich Islands. The sale was soon effected and prices were fixed. The entire stock of furs on hand, goods of every kind, both at Astoria and throughout the interior, with all the property of the different posts, were turned over to the Northwest Company, practically at about ten per cent. on cost and charges. The entire sale amounted to less than sixty thousand dollars. After back wages had been paid to the employees and other charges, there was left for Mr. Astor about forty thousand dollars net. Mr. Astor later estimated the true value of the property to be nearly two hundred thousand dollars. But the deed was done; Astor had no recourse. A written bill of sale was made, detailing the goods sold by the one party and bought by the other, and this bill of sale was signed by Duncan McDougal, J. G. McTavish, and J. Stuart, and witnessed by seven persons.

Some excuse may perhaps be made for McDougal's blunder, inasmuch as McTavish and Stuart had informed him that the *Isaac Todd*, a British war vessel, had sailed from London to capture Astoria. The *Isaac Todd* did not reach Oregon, but another sloop of war arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River almost immediately after the sale had been made, and

while the parties in interest were still busy taking an inventory of the furs and goods at Astoria and transferring them to the new owners.

The British government was well informed concerning this venture of Mr. Astor, but the value of the establishment and its stock of furs had been overestimated. One might imagine the conferences held in London, when the great value of this new establishment upon the Columbia was discussed and plans were made for its capture. Captain Black, in the sloop of war *Raccoon*, sailed from London across the Atlantic, around Cape Horn, halting with other British vessels at Juan Fernandez, and then made the long voyage northward through the waters of the Pacific to latitude 47° north, with high hopes of a rich share of prize money to be secured from the capture of this great American fort. The following account of Captain Black's doings at Astoria and matters connected therewith is taken from *Adventures on the Columbia River*, by John Ross Cox:

The *Isaac Todd* sailed from London in March, 1813, in company with the *Phœbe*, frigate, and the *Cherub* and *Raccoon*, sloops of war. They arrived safe at Rio Janeiro, and thence proceeded around Cape Horn to the Pacific, having previously made arrangements to meet at Juan Fernandez. The three men-of-war reached the latter island, after encountering dreadful gales about the Cape; they waited there some time for the *Isaac Todd;* but as she did not make her appearance, Commodore Hillyer did not

deem it prudent to remain any longer inactive. He, therefore, in company with the *Cherub*, proceeded in search of Commodore Porter, who, in the American frigate *Essex*, was clearing the South Sea of English whalers, and inflicting other injuries of a serious nature on our commerce; he shortly after met the *Essex* at Valparaiso, and, after a severe contest, captured her.

At the same time, he ordered Captain Black, in the *Raccoon*, to proceed direct to the Columbia, for the purpose of destroying the American establishment at Astoria. The *Raccoon* arrived at the Columbia on the first of December, 1813. The surprise and disappointment of Captain Black and his officers were extreme, on learning the arrangement that had taken place between the two companies, by which the establishment had become British property. They had calculated on obtaining a splendid prize by the capture of Astoria, the strength and importance of which had been much magnified; and the contracting parties were therefore fortunate in having closed their bargain previous to the arrival of the *Raccoon*. On looking at the wooden fortifications, Captain Black exclaimed: "Is this the fort about which I have heard so much? Zounds, but I 'd batter it down in two hours with a four-pounder." Captain Black, however, took possession of Astoria in the name of his Britannic majesty, and rebaptized it by the name of "Fort George." He also insisted on having an inventory taken of the valuable stock of furs, and all other property purchased from the American Company, with a view to the adoption of ulterior proceedings in England for the recovery of the value from the North-west Company; but he subsequently relinquished this idea, and we heard no more about his claims.

The Indians at the mouth of the Columbia knew well that America and Great Britain were distinct nations, and that

they were then at war, but were ignorant of the arrangement made between Messrs. McDougal and McTavish, the former of whom still continued as nominal chief at the fort. On the arrival of the *Raccoon*, which they speedily discovered to be one of "King George's fighting ships," they repaired, armed, to the fort, and requested an audience of Mr. McDougal. He was somewhat surprised at their numbers and warlike appearance, and demanded the object of such an unusual visit. Comcomly, the principal chief of the Chinooks, (whose daughter McDougal had married,) thereupon addressed him in a long speech, in the course of which he said that King George had sent a ship full of warriors, and loaded with nothing but big guns, to take the Americans and make them all slaves, and that, as they (the Americans) were the first white men who had settled in their country, and treated the Indians like good relations, they had resolved to defend them from King George's warriors, and were now ready to conceal themselves in the woods close to the wharf, from whence they would be able, with their guns and arrows, to shoot all the men who should attempt to land from the English boats, while the people in the fort could fire at them with their big guns and rifles. This proposition was uttered with an earnestness of manner that left no doubt of its sincerity.

Two armed boats from the *Raccoon* were approaching; and, had the people at the fort felt disposed to accede to the wishes of the Indians, every man in them would have been destroyed by an invisible enemy. Mr. McDougal thanked them for their friendly offer, but added, that, notwithstanding the nations were at war, the people in the boats would not injure him or any of his people, and therefore requested them to throw by their war-shirts and arms, and receive the strangers as their friends. They first seemed astonished at this answer; but, on assuring them, in the

most positive manner, that he was under no apprehensions, they consented to give up their weapons for a few days. They afterward declared they were sorry for having complied with Mr. McDougal's wishes; for when they saw Captain Black, surrounded by his officers and marines, break the bottle of port on the flag-staff, and hoist the British ensign, after changing the name of the fort, they remarked that, however we might wish to conceal the fact, the Americans were undoubtedly made slaves; and they were not convinced of their mistake until the sloop of war had departed without taking any prisoners.[1]

The matter did not end here. Of the further developments, we have this account:

The capture of Astoria by the British, and the transfer of the Pacific Company's establishments on the Columbia to the Northwest Company, were not known to the Plenipotentiaries of the United States at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814, when they signed the treaty of peace between their country and Great Britain. That treaty contains no allusion whatsoever to the Northwest coasts of America, or to any portion of the continent west of the Lake of the Woods. The plenipotentiaries of the United States had been instructed by their government to consent to no claim on the part of Great Britain to territory in that quarter south of that parallel of latitude, for reasons which we have already stated; and, after some discussion, they proposed to the British an article similar in effect to the fifth article of the convention signed, but not definitively concluded, in 1807, according to which, a line drawn along that parallel should separate the territories of the powers so far as they extended west of the Lake of the Woods, provided however,

[1] Greenhow, pp. 444, 445.

that nothing in the article should be construed as applying to any country west of the Rocky Mountains. The British plenipotentiaries were willing to accept this article, if it were also accompanied by provision that their subjects should have access to the Mississippi river through the territory of the United States, and the right of navigating it to the sea; but the Americans positively refused to agree to such a stipulation, and the question of the boundaries west of the Lake of the Woods was left unsettled by the treaty.

It was nevertheless agreed, in the first article of the treaty of Ghent, that "all territory, places, and possessions, whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, [in the Bay of Fundy,] shall be restored without delay"; and, in virtue of this article, Mr. Monroe, the secretary of state of the United States, on the 18th of July, 1815, announced to Mr. Baker, the chargé d'affaires of Great Britain at Washington, that the president intended immediately to reoccupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia. This determination seems to have been taken partly at the instance of Mr. Astor, who was anxious, if possible, to recommence operations on his former plan in north-west America; but no measures were adopted for the purpose until September, 1817, when Captain J. Biddle, commanding the sloop of war *Ontario*, and Mr. J. B. Prevost, were jointly commissioned to proceed in that ship to the mouth of the Columbia, and there, "to assert the claim of the United States to the sovereignty of the adjacent country, in a friendly and peaceable manner, and without the employment of force." [1]

A few days after the departure of Messrs. Biddle and Prevost for the Pacific, on this mission, Mr. Bagot, the

[1] See President Monroe's message to Congress of April 15, 1822, and the accompanying documents.

British plenipotentiary at Washington, addressed to Mr. J. Q. Adams, the American secretary of State, some inquiries respecting the destination of the *Ontario*, and the objects of her voyage; and having been informed on these points, he remonstrated against the intended occupation of the post at the mouth of the Columbia, on the grounds "that the place had not been captured during the late war, but that the Americans had retired from it, under an agreement with the North-West Company, which had purchased their effects, and had since retained peaceable possession of the coast"; and that "the territory itself was early taken possession of in his majesty's name, and had since been considered as forming a part of his majesty's dominions"; under which circumstances, no claim for the restitution of the post could be founded on the first article of the treaty of Ghent. At what precise time this possession was taken, or on what grounds the territory was considered as part of the British dominions, the minister did not attempt to show.

Mr. Bagot at the same time communicated the circumstances to his government, and they became the subject of discussion between Lord Castlereagh, the British secretary for foreign affairs, and Mr. Rush, the American plenipotentiary at London. Lord Castlereagh proposed that the question respecting the claim to the post on the Columbia should be referred to commissioners, as many disputed points had been, agreeably to the treaty of Ghent; to which Mr. Rush objected, for the simple reasons—that the spot was in the possession of the Americans before the war; that it fell, by belligerent capture, into the hands of the British during the war; and that, "under a treaty which stipulated the mutual restitution of all places reduced by the arms of either party, the right of the United States to immediate and full possession could not be impugned." The British secretary, upon this, admitted the right of the Americans

to be reinstated, and to be the party in possession, while treating on the title; though he regretted that the government of the United States should have employed means to obtain restitution which might lead to difficulties. Mr. Rush had no apprehensions of that kind; and it was finally agreed that the post should be restored to the Americans, and that the question of the title to the territory should be discussed in the negotiation as to limits and other matters, which was soon to be commenced. Lord Bathurst, the British secretary for the Colonies, accordingly sent to the agents of the North-West Company at the mouth of the Columbia a despatch, directing them to afford due facilities for the reoccupation of the post at that point by the Americans; and an order to the same effect was also sent from the admiralty to the commander of the British naval forces in the Pacific.

The *Ontario* passed around Cape Horn into the Pacific, and arrived, in February, 1818, at Valparaiso, where it was agreed between the commissioners that Captain Biddle should proceed to the Columbia, and receive possession of Astoria for the United States, Mr. Prevost remaining in Chile for the purpose of transacting some business with the government of that country, which had also been intrusted to him. Captain Biddle accordingly sailed to the Columbia, and, on the 9th of August, he took temporary possession of the country on that river, in the name of the United States, after which he returned to the South Pacific.

In the mean time Commodore Bowles, the commander of the British naval forces in the South Sea, received at Rio de Janeiro the order from the Admiralty for the surrender of the post on the Columbia to the Americans. This order he transmitted to Captain Sheriff, the senior officer of the ships in the Pacific, who, meeting Mr. Prevost at Valparaiso, informed him of the contents of the order,

and offered him a passage to the Columbia, for the purpose of completing the business, as it certainly could not have been done by Captain Biddle. This offer was accepted by the American commissioner, who proceeded, in the British frigate *Blossom*, to the Columbia, and entered that river in the beginning of October; and Mr. Keith, the superintending partner of the North-West Company, at Fort George, or Astoria, having also received the order, from the colonial department at London, for the surrender of the place, the affair was soon despatched.[1] On the 6th of the month, Captain Hickey and Mr. Keith, as joint commissioners on

[1] President Monroe's message to Congress on April 17, 1822, accompanied by Mr. Prevost's letter, dated Monterey, November 11, 1818. The two papers above mentioned are of so much importance that they are here given at length.

The act of delivery presented by the British commissioners is as follows:

"In obedience to the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, signified in a dispatch from the right honorable the Earl Bathurst, addressed to the partners or agents of the North-West Company, bearing date the 27th of January, 1818, and in obedience to a subsequent order, dated the 26th of July, from W. H. Sheriff, Esq., captain of his Majesty's ship *Andromache*, we, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the government of the United States, through its agent, J. B. Prevost, Esq., the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia river. Given under our hands, in triplicate, at Fort George (Columbia river), this 6th day of October, 1818.

"F. Hickey, Captain of his Majesty's ship *Blossom*.

"J. Keith, of the North-West Company."

The act of acceptance on the part of the American commissioner is in these words:

"I do hereby acknowledge to have this day received, in behalf of the government of the United States, the possession of the settlement designated above, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent. Given under my hand, in triplicate, at Fort George (Columbia River), this 6th of October, 1818.

"J. B. Prevost, Agent for the United States."

the part of Great Britain, presented to Mr. Prevost a paper declaring that, in obedience to the commands of the Prince Regent, as signified in Lord Bathurst's despatch of the 27th of January previous, and in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, they restored to the government of the United States, through its agent, Mr. Prevost, the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia river; and Mr. Prevost, in return, gave another paper, setting forth the fact of his acceptance of the settlement for his government, agreeably to the above mentioned treaty. The British flag was then formally lowered, and that of the United States, having been hoisted in its stead over the fort, was saluted by the *Blossom*.[1]

In explanation of the above quotation from Greenhow, the following is taken from the writings of Dr. Richard Rush, our minister to London:

February 1st, 1818.—Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh. . . . A despatch from Mr. Bagot, he said, had informed the British government that the United States were about to take possession of that post, by sending out an armed ship; and he had to express the regret felt at this measure. It was to have been wished, he remarked, that before the ship sailed, notice had been given to his Majesty's minister in Washington of her destination, Great Britain having a claim of dominion over that territory. He proceeded to inform me, that Mr. Bagot had sent in a remonstrance upon the occasion; to which, at the last dates, no answer had been received. He closed by saying that it was the desire of his government to submit a proposal that the question of title to this territory should, as in the other two cases, go before commissioners, and be governed in all

[1] Greenhow, pp. 306–310.

other respects by the precedent of the treaty of Ghent; annexing to it a third supplemental article as the groundwork of contingent arbitration before some friendly sovereign.

To his proposals and remarks I made such replies as they seemed to call for; and first as to the post on the Columbia. Nothing, I told him, could exceed the concern I felt at our act being viewed in the light presented by him, and nothing could have been less expected. The grounds upon which England claimed dominion were unknown to me; but granting that she had a claim, was the lawfulness of the step taken by the United States, to be questioned? That the post was in their possession before the war of 1812, was admitted; and also, that it had fallen by capture into the hands of Britain during the war. How then, under a treaty of peace, the first article of which stipulated the mutual restitution of all places reduced by the arms of either party, was our right to restitution to be impeached? I mentioned the cases of Nootka Sound and Falkland Islands. In both these, Great Britain, under circumstances far less strong, had asserted the principle of which we now claimed the benefit.

His Lordship admitted our right to restitution, and to be the party in possession, while negotiations for the title were going on. But the manner of obtaining it, he said, was to be lamented, from its possible tendency to interrupt the harmony subsisting between the two countries. He sincerely hoped it would not have that effect, and added, that to forestall all risk by precautions within his power, he had addressed a note to the lords of the admiralty, and one to Lord Bathurst as charged with colonial affairs, desiring that prompt orders might be issued for preventing all hostile collision, either at the post, or with British ships in the vicinity. He took from his files copies of these notes and read them to me.

I said that it was scarcely to be expected that I could yet have received official information respecting the measure, and although, in fact, none had reached me, I was entirely confident that it had originated in no unfriendly feeling. Nor was it believed that anything essentially due to Great Britain had been omitted. It had so happened, I remarked, that I had some knowledge myself, of the intentions of my government at the time the measure was projected, which enabled me with less scruple to speak as I did. I left Washington, it was true, before the departure of the ship; but felt sure there could have been no alteration in the amicable views that had suggested her voyage to those seas; and above all, I knew, that the employment of force as a means of reinstating ourselves under the treaty had nowise been in contemplation.

These assurances appeared to have the proper influence in placing the transaction in its true lights. The post came peaceably into our possession, and the case was not subsequently revived as one of complaint.[1]

For nearly thirty years the controversy between the United States and Great Britain concerning their respective claims and rights to this northwest territory was continued. Our claims to this northwest coast, as set forth in 1826, by Mr. Albert Gallatin, our minister to Great Britain, were as follows:

"Mr. Gallatin claimed for the United States the possession of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude, on the grounds of—

[1] *Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London*, by Richard Rush, etc., second edition, Philadelphia, Key & Biddle, 1833, pp. 103 *et seq.*

"The acquisition of the United States of the titles of France through the Louisiana treaty, and the titles of Spain through the Florida treaty;

"The discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, the first exploration of the countries through which that river flows, and the establishment of the first posts and settlements in those countries by American citizens;

"The virtual recognition of the title of the United States by the British government, by the restitution, agreeably to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, of the post near the mouth of the Columbia, which had been taken during the war;

"And lastly, upon the ground of contiguity, which should give the United States a stronger right to those territories than could be advanced by any other power —a doctrine always maintained by Great Britain, from the period of her earliest attempts at colonization in America, as clearly proved by her charters, in which the whole breadth of the continent, between certain parallels of latitude, was granted to colonies established only at points on the borders of the Atlantic." [1]

[1] Greenhow, p. 348.

"If," says Mr. Gallatin, "some trading factories on the shores of Hudson's Bay have been considered by Great Britain as giving an exclusive right of occupancy as far as the Rocky Mountains; if the infant settlements on the more southern Atlantic shores justified a claim thence to the South Seas, and which was actually enforced to the Mississippi,— that of the millions already in reach of those seas cannot consistently be rejected." This argument, it may be added, has since been constantly increasing in force.

It should be observed that prior to the Florida treaty Messrs. Rush and Gallatin "did not assert that the United States had a perfect right to that country, but insisted that their claim was at least good against Great Britain." Greenhow says:

They cited, in support of that claim, the fact of the discovery of the Columbia River, of the first explorations from its sources to its mouth, and of the formation of the first establishments in the country through which it flows, by American citizens. Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson, on the other hand, affirmed that former voyages, and principally that of Captain Cook, gave Great Britain the rights derived from discovery; and they alluded to purchases from the natives south of the Columbia, which they alleged to have been made prior to the American Revolution. They did not make any formal proposition for a boundary, but intimated that the river itself was the most convenient which could be adopted; and that they would not agree to any which did not give them the harbor at the mouth of that river, in common with the United States.[1]

In the year 1818 a treaty was made between this country and Great Britain, covering several distinct points. The third article reads as follows:

Article III. It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention

[1] Greenhow, pp. 314, 315.

to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the high contracting parties may have to any part of said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other Power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves.[1]

At the same time it was agreed by the second article that from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, the line between the British possessions and the United States should be along the 49th parallel of north latitude. This agreement for joint occupancy was to hold for ten years. During this period we had made the Florida treaty with Spain, which produced a great change in our claims to the Oregon country. The third article in this treaty reads as follows:

Article III. The boundary line between the two countries west of the Mississippi shall begin on the Gulph of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the 32nd degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo or Nachitoches, or Red River; then following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; then, crossing the said Red River, and running thence by a line due north, to the river Arkansas; thence, following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas, to its source, in latitude 42 north;

[1] *Treaties and Conventions*, p. 351.

and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea. The whole being as laid down in Mellish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the first of January, 1818. But if the source of the Arkansas river shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42, then the line shall run from the said source due south or north, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude 42°, and thence, along the said parallel, to the South Sea: All the islands in the Sabine, and the said Red and Arkansas rivers, throughout the course thus described, to belong to the United States; but the use of the waters, and the navigation of the Sabine to the sea, and of the said rivers, Roxo and Arkansas, throughout the extent of said boundary, on their respective banks, shall be common to the respective inhabitants of both nations.

The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories described by said line, that is to say: The United States hereby cede to His Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims, and pretentions, to the territories lying west and south of the above-described line; and in like manner, His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States all his rights, claims, and pretentions to any territories east and north of said line, and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever.[1]

By this treaty, Spain quitclaimed to the United States all her right and title to the territory north of 42° north latitude. Previous to this treaty, in all our contentions with Great Britain, we had insisted that our claim to this territory was better than hers, but

[1] *Treaties and Conventions*, pp. 787, 788.

not that our title was perfect. After this treaty, our ministers claimed that our title to the Oregon country was perfect.

On the 6th of August, 1827, a treaty was concluded with Great Britain by which the plan of joint occupancy was "indefinitely extended and continued in force." This treaty also declared that "it shall be competent to either of the contracting parties, in case either should think fit, at any time after the expiration of the said ten years, that is, after the 20th of October, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party, to annul and abrogate this convention; and it shall in such case, be accordingly entirely annulled and abrogated, after the expiration of the said term of notice." In accordance with this agreement for a twelve-months' notice, Congress passed a joint resolution April 27, 1846, which authorized the President to give such notice at his discretion. A preamble pronounced "this act an incentive to a speedy and amicable adjustment between the two governments." The notice of abrogation was given by the President on the 21st of May.

The tone of the British government, which had been haughty and arbitrary, was now mollified, and Pakenham, the British minister at Washington, "opened a soothing correspondence to forestall any action by Congress; first offering that the negotiation should proceed as though the rejected offer [of 49°] had not

been withdrawn."[1] Lord Aberdeen, perceiving a favorable drift of Congress, submitted an offer. "This was a compromise on the 49°, reserving to Great Britain the whole of Vancouver's Island, by a line running through the Strait of Fuca."[2] This proposition was presented to our Secretary of State, Mr. Buchanan, by the British minister, Pakenham. By it, apparently, official pride on both sides could be saved, and a treaty was drawn up in accordance therewith.

President Polk submitted this treaty to the Senate, asking their advice. Just here certain circumstances should be borne in mind. President Polk had been elected on the watch-cry, "Fifty-four forty or fight." Should he now recede to the line of 49°? Could he do it honorably? It will be noticed that the Constitution makes it the duty of the President to negotiate treaties "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." In the early days, Washington sometimes asked the advice of the Senate; but almost without exception in the whole history of the government after his time, the President signed the treaty and sent it to the Senate for confirmation. In this case, however, President Polk first asked the advice of the Senate, stating to them that the Secretary of State and the British minister had agreed to a treaty on the 49th degree of

[1] Schouler's *History of the United States*, vol. iv., p. 513.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 514.

north latitude. If the Senate so advised, he would sign it. The Senate did so advise, and it was signed by the President.

Ratifications were exchanged July 17, 1846, and the treaty was proclaimed the 5th of August following. This treaty settled all boundary lines at that time in dispute between us and Great Britain. In substance, the treaty provided that the dividing line between the British possessions and the United States should be continued from the Rocky Mountains "westward along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly, through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean." [1]

Subsequently a dispute arose as to which side of the island of San Juan was the proper Strait of de Fuca. The question was submitted to arbitration and left to the decision of the Emperor of Germany. This was in the year 1873. Emperor William decided in favor of the United States, and the boundary was therefore determined as running on the northerly and westerly side of the island.

This brief statement of our negotiations with Great Britain and the final result, which established our northwestern boundary on latitude 49°, has seemed necessary to be given all together for the clearest under-

[1] *Treaties and Conventions*, pp. 375, 376.

standing of the subject. Let us now retrace our steps and consider more in detail our claims to that territory, and examine with some care the question of the western limits of the Louisiana province.

The grounds of our claim to the Oregon country, as presented by Mr. Rush in 1824 and by Mr. Gallatin in 1826, were as follows: Mr. Rush claimed for the United States "in their own right, and as their absolute and exclusive sovereignty and dominion, the whole of the country west of the Rocky Mountains from the 42d to at least as far up as the 51st degree of north latitude." He further said that, "in the opinion of my government, the title of the United States to the whole of that coast, from the latitude 42° to as far north as 60° was superior to that of Great Britain, or any other power: first, by the proper claim of the United States through discovery and settlement; and secondly, as now standing in the place of Spain, and holding in their hands her title."

It will be observed that even in 1824 Mr. Rush did not base our claim on the Louisiana Purchase.

In support of his claims to "exclusive possession and sovereignty . . . at least as far north as the 51st degree of latitude," which was supposed to represent the northern limit of the waters of the Columbia, he cited the facts of:

1. "The first discovery of the Columbia by Captain Gray";

2. "The first exploration of that river from its sources to the sea by Lewis and Clark";

3. "The first settlement on its banks by the Pacific Fur Company . . . a settlement which was reduced by the arms of the British during the late war, but was formally surrendered up to the United States at the return of peace;" and

4. "The transfer by Spain to the United States of all her titles to those territories, founded upon the well-known discoveries of her navigators."

He insisted, in obedience to direct instructions from his government, "that no part of the American continent was thenceforth to be open to colonization from Europe." Again he says:

> The claims of the United States above the 42d parallel as high up as 60 degrees—claims as well in their own right as by succession to the title of Spain—would thenceforth necessarily preclude other nations from forming colonial establishments upon any part of the American continent.[1]

Early in 1846, and just before the final settlement between the United States and Great Britain of the northern boundary of Oregon, there appeared in London an octavo volume of 391 pages, entitled *The Oregon Question Examined in Respect to Facts, and the Law of Nations*, prepared with great care and ability by a

[1] Protocol of the twelfth conference between the plenipotentiaries, held June 26, 1824. Among the documents annexed to President Adams's message to Congress, January 3, 1826.

distinguished Englishman, the "Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, and Advocate in Doctors Commons," Travers Twiss, D.C.L., F.R.S. This is a work of much ability, written with no little shrewdness, and designed to answer and neutralize the influence of Mr. Greenhow's book, which presented so strongly the claims of the United States.

Dr. Twiss affirms thus:

> The history of these negotiations shows that on each occasion the United States have increased their claims and reduced their concessions, while Great Britain has not only not increased her claims, but on the contrary has advanced in her concessions.[1]

John Dunn, also, a former Hudson's Bay man, says in his preface:

> Up to 1814, they [the Americans] never claimed more than the right to joint occupancy; that after the Florida treaty they took a bolder tone, and claimed exclusive right; that in 1827, they never ventured to claim beyond the 49th degree. But now they take a bolder tone still; and on the gambling principle of "all or nothing" claim up to the Russian frontier.[2]

Is it consistent with the uniform practice of the government of Great Britain "not to increase her claims, but on the contrary to advance in her concessions," when she feels assured that she has a good

[1] Travers Twiss, p. 368.

[2] John Dunn's *History of the Oregon Territory*, London, 1844, p. v.

claim? Indeed, it hardly seems possible but that Dr. Twiss and Mr. Dunn must have been conscious that their very statements would naturally suggest to the unprejudiced mind that the grounds of England's claim could hardly have been tenable, else she would not have "advanced her concessions."

The arguments for our exclusive jurisdiction, as put forth in 1826, may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The acquisition by the United States of the titles of France through the Louisiana treaty, and the titles of Spain through the Florida treaty;

2. The discovery of the mouth of the Columbia;

3. The first exploration of the country through which that river flows;

4. The establishment of the first posts and settlements in those countries by American citizens;

5. The virtual recognition of the title of the United States by the British government, in the restitution, agreeably to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, of the port near the mouth of the Columbia, which had been taken during the war;

6. And lastly, upon the ground of contiguity, which should give the United States a stronger right to those territories than could be advanced by any other power.[1]

Great Britain refused to settle the question, rejected the proposition of compromising on the line of latitude 49°, and finally the convention of joint occupancy was

[1] Greenhow, pp. 347, 348.

renewed indefinitely, with the agreement of one year's notice by either party for the abrogation or termination of the treaty. This convention was signed August 6, 1827. The agreement held until 1846, when a treaty was negotiated by James Buchanan, Secretary of State under President Polk, and Richard Pakenham, the British minister, fixing the boundary between that part of the country which should hereafter belong to the United States and the British Provinces, as the 49th degree of latitude from the Rocky Mountains "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of said channel, and of Fuca's straits, to the Pacific Ocean." [1]

It may be observed that in pressing our claims to Oregon upon the British government, no one ground was exclusively relied on, but rather an aggregation of claims was presented and insisted on. Which of these grounds should be considered the strongest might not be of much import, were it not for the efforts of some writers, taking perhaps a partial view, to exaggerate one of them to the exclusion of the others.

Unfortunately for accurate students of history, some prominent persons have endeavored to confine our claims to this territory to the right derived from our purchase of Louisiana from the French in 1803. As a

[1] See *United States Treaties and Conventions*, 1871, pp. 375, 376.

matter of fact, this is the weakest ground of them all. This position was taken in the report on the census of 1870 by General Francis A. Walker. We are under great obligations to General Walker for much valuable information, in the volume on *Population* of the ninth census, relating to the history of the various sections of our territory.[1] This information he subsequently expanded and published in his valuable *Statistical Atlas of the United States*, Part II. of which consists of "Memoirs and Discussions." This Part II. comprises four chapters, as follows: 1st, the "Political Divisions of the United States," with a map by S. W. Stocking; 2d, "The Minor Political Divisions of the United States," by S. A. Galpin; 3d, "The Progress of the Nation," by General Walker; and 4th, "Population," by E. B. Elliott.

This book probably gives more practical and valuable information in a condensed form, in relation to the territorial accessions, than can be obtained elsewhere. It is therefore more to be regretted that these gentlemen, Walker and Stocking, should have fallen into so great an error as to represent Oregon on their map as part of Louisiana. Following their lead, many writers of school histories have copied this valuable map, and of course have copied the error regarding Oregon. But there is no foundation for the opinion

[1] Volume on *Populations*, Ninth Census, pp. 573–587, and map in connection.

that Oregon ever belonged to France, and could thus have been ceded to us as a part of Louisiana.

1. France never claimed beyond the Rocky Mountains.

In 1712, King Louis XIV. granted to Antoine Crozat the exclusive trade of the territory called Louisiana, and this grant gives the earliest exposition of the limits of that region. In the grant the boundaries of the territory are described thus:

> . . . bounded by New Mexico, and by those of the English in Carolina. The river St. Louis, formerly called the Mississippi, from the seashore to the Illinois, together with the rivers St. Philip, formerly called the Missouries River, and the Saint Jerome, formerly called the Wabash [the Ohio] with all the countries, territories, lakes in the land, and the rivers emptying directly or indirectly into that part of the river St. Louis.

This could by no possible construction include anything beyond the headwaters of the Missouri. France never afterward claimed for herself beyond the Rocky Mountains.[1]

2. Spain always claimed that Louisiana was limited by the Rocky Mountains. During all our negotiations with Spain in relation to Florida, which included a full discussion of our western boundaries, Spain never

[1] See *State Papers*, 1817–1818, p. 437. Our Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, says: "The only boundaries ever acknowledged by France before this cession to Spain in 1762, were those made out in the grant from Louis XIV. to Crozat."

admitted for a moment that Louisiana extended west of the mountains.

3. Neither Great Britain nor any British writers upon the subject ever allowed the claim that Louisiana extended west of the Rocky Mountains.

4. Until after the treaty of Florida in 1819, our government never claimed that our title was perfect.

On the 11th of July, 1803, President Jefferson wrote to General Gates in regard to Louisiana: "The territory acquired, as it includes all the waters of the Missouri and Mississippi, has more than doubled the area of the United States." This statement would imply that it did not go beyond the Rocky Mountains. On the 12th of August the same year, in a letter to Mr. Breckenridge, he said: "The boundaries, which I deem not admitting of question, are the high lands on the western side of the Mississippi, enclosing all its waters, including the Missouri of course."

Later, in a letter to Mellish the geographer, dated December 31, 1816, Mr. Jefferson said:

"The western boundary of Louisiana is, rightfully, the Rio Bravo (in its main stream), from its mouth to its source, and thence along the highlands and mountains dividing the waters of the Mississippi from those of the Pacific."

Marbois, in his *History of Louisiana*, makes these statements:

The shores of the Western Ocean were certainly not included in the cession. . . . The first article of the treaty of cession to the United States, meant to convey nothing beyond them [the Rocky Mountains].

Greenhow, in his *History of California and Oregon*, commenting on the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase, says:

We are forced to regard the boundaries indicated by nature—namely, the highlands separating the waters of the Mississippi from those flowing into the Pacific or the California Gulf—as the true western boundary of the Louisiana ceded by France to Spain in 1762, retroceded to France in 1800, and transferred to the United States by France in 1803.

Talleyrand, the French minister, wrote to Gavine, August 31, 1804, thus:

Whatever boundary may be agreed upon between Spain and the United States, the line will necessarily be so far removed from the western coast of America as to relieve the court of Madrid from anxiety on that score.

Messrs. Gallatin and Rush, in 1818, in reporting to their government, stated: "We did not assert that the United States had a perfect right to that country, but insisted that their claim was at least good against Great Britain." [1]

But after our purchase of Florida and the settlement

[1] See Travers Twiss, p. 202.

of the boundary between our territory and the Spanish provinces as latitude 42° north, that is, when we had purchased Florida, given up Texas to Spain, and she had ceded her rights of Oregon to us, then we set up a complete claim to the Oregon country.

In 1845, Mr. Buchanan asserted:

> Our own American title to the extent of this valley of the Columbia, resting as it does on discovery, exploration and possession—a possession acknowledged by a most solemn act by Great Britain herself, is a sufficient assurance against all mankind; whilst our superadded title derived from Spain extends our exclusive rights over the whole territory in dispute against Great Britain.[1]

This position, maintained by Secretary Buchanan in his negotiations with the British government in 1845, had been uniformly held by our government from the time of the treaty of Florida.

"In 1824, Mr. Rush commenced his negotiations by claiming for the United States 'in their own right, and as their absolute and exclusive sovereignty and dominion, the whole of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, from the 42nd to at least as far up as the 51st degree of north latitude.' He further said that, 'in the opinion of my government, the title of the United States to the whole of that coast, from latitude 42° to as far north as 60°, was superior to that of Britain or any other power:

[1] Letter of Mr. Buchanan, July 12, 1845.

"'First, through the proper claim of the United States by discovery and settlement; and

"'Secondly, as now standing in the place of Spain, and holding in their hands her title.'"[1]

Dr. Rush, in 1824, wrote:

I reminded the British plenipotentiaries that, by the third article of the treaty of Washington, of February the 22d, 1819, between the United States and Spain, the boundary line between the two countries was fixed, in part, along the southern bank of the Arkansas, to its source, in parallel 42° north, and thence by that parallel of latitude to the South Sea; and that Spain had also renounced to the United States by the same article, all her rights north of that parallel. I then made known, at this and other conferences,—for, from the extent of the subject, I was unable even to open it all at one conference—what I understood to be the nature of the title of the United States to the whole of the country north of the parallel stated. I said, that, apart from all the right as thus acquired from Spain, which, however, was regarded by my Government as surpassing the right of all other European powers, on that coast, the United States claimed, in their own right, and as their absolute and exclusive sovereignty and dominion, the whole of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, from the 42nd to at least as far up as the 51st degree of North latitude.

This claim they rested upon their first discovery of the river Columbia, followed up by an effective settlement at its mouth, a settlement which was reduced by the arms of Britain during the late war, but formally surrendered up to the United States at the return of peace. Their right by first discovery they deemed peculiarly strong, having been

[1] Travers Twiss, p. 269.

made not only from the sea by Captain Gray, but also from the interior by Lewis and Clarke, who first discovered its sources, and explored its whole inland course to the Pacific ocean. It had been ascertained that the Columbia extended, by the river Muttnomah, to as low as 42° North; and by Clarke's river, to a point as high up as 51°, if not beyond that point; and to this entire range of country, contiguous to the original dominion of the United States, and made a part of it by the almost intermingling waters of each, the United States, I said, considered their title as established by all the principles that had ever been applied on this subject by the powers of Europe, to settlements in the American hemisphere. I asserted, that a nation, discovering a country, by entering the mouth of its principal river at the sea coast, must necessarily be allowed to claim and hold, as great an extent of the interior country, as was described by the course of such principal river, and its tributary streams; and that the claim, to this extent, became doubly strong, where, as in the present instance, the same river had also been discovered and explored from its very mountain springs to the sea. Such a union of titles, imparting validity to each other, did not often exist.[1]

5. The opinion that Louisiana did not extend beyond the Rocky Mountains has been almost uniformly held by the leading men of our government.

We have mentioned above the views of Mr. Rush, Mr. Gallatin, Mr. John Quincy Adams, and Mr. Buchanan, all of whom conducted at different times negotiations with Great Britain upon this subject. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter written in August, 1803, im-

[1] Dr. Rush's *Residence at the Court of London*, vol. ii., pp. 251–253.

mediately after the ratification of the treaty of purchase of Louisiana, said:

The boundaries [of Louisiana] which I deem not admitting question, are the high lands on the western side of the Mississippi, inclosing all its waters, [the Missouri of course,] and terminating in a line drawn from the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods to the nearest source of the Mississippi.

John J. Anderson, Ph.D., the author of a series of school histories of the United States, in reviewing this subject, uses the following language:

In March, 1844, Mr. V. Brown, from the "Committee on the Territories" made a report to Congress, covering twenty-four closely printed pages, in which this whole question is thoroughly discussed. In all this long report, there is not the first attempt to prove that our right to Oregon came to us through the Louisiana Purchase.

. . . . . .

Mr. Clay said not a word of the Louisiana Purchase; and Mr. Gallatin, in his able and exhaustive discussion of the subject, as manifested in his letters, and in his celebrated pamphlet of seventy-five pages, published in 1846, makes but the briefest allusion to the Louisiana Purchase. The whole bent of his argument is to show that our title to Oregon came to us through discoveries, exploration, and occupation. Mr. Cushing's report, made to Congress in January, 1839; the books written from the English standpoint, by the English authors, Thomas Falconer, Travers Twiss, and John Dunn, besides numerous pamphlets, an able article in the *North American Review* for 1845, p. 214,

as well as President's messages, and reports of debates in Congress,—all reviewing and discussing the Oregon question—have been read by me with care; but nowhere have I seen any attempt whatever to prove that any part of the region west of the Rocky Mountains ever belonged to France, or that France ever made any pretense of conveying it to the United States. The region was no part of the Louisiana Purchase.[1]

In 1839, Caleb Cushing, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted to Congress an exhaustive report reviewing our grounds for claiming Oregon, in which he expresses substantially the views given above. In this report, Mr. Cushing says:

The United States, then, claim title to the exclusive dominion, as against any foreign power, of the country, extending east and west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, and north and south from the limits of the Mexican Republic in latitude 42 north, to those of Russia in latitude 54 degrees and 40 minutes north, with an offer to relinquish to Great Britain all north of latitude 49. They claim this on three grounds: 1. in their own right; 2. as the successor of France; and 3. of Spain.

He then elaborates the first and third points, and slides over the second. He shows that after our purchase of Louisiana, Spain was the only power that could contest our claim to the Pacific territory. He says:

The Louisiana treaty cedes to the United States the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent it

[1] From a pamphlet by Mr. Anderson, entitled *Did the Louisiana Purchase Extend to the Pacific Ocean?* 1881, p. 3.

had in the hands of Spain in 1800, and that it had when previously possessed by France, with all its rights and appurtenances.

This description is, to be sure, sufficiently loose. But Napoleon having made the cession at the moment of going to war with Great Britain, and having made it to prevent the country from falling into the hands of the latter, and having ceded it to the United States out of friendly feelings toward us, and in order to augment our power as against that of Britain; being actuated by those motives, he, of course, chose to execute a quit claim rather than a warranty of boundaries; and the United States, placed in the position of acquiring, at a cheap price, a territory almost invaluable to her, had no disposition to be hyper-critical on this point, and thus hazard the loss of such a valuable contingency. And though much controversy sprang up in regard to the southwestern or southeastern limits of Louisiana, yet all this resolved itself at length into a question with Spain, as did also the doubts as to the western limits of Louisiana.[1]

In an article of great value, exhibiting not only extensive and careful reading upon the subject, but rare good judgment and statesmanlike views, in the *North American Review* for January, 1840, Mr. Cushing expresses his opinion that "this event [the purchase of Louisiana] gave us great, though undefined rights on the side of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific."[2]

These statements show clearly that there was no

[1] *Document No. 101*, House of Representatives, 25th Congress, Third Session, p. 6.

[2] *North American Review*, vol. l., p. 95.

doubt in the mind of Mr. Cushing in reference to the western boundaries of Louisiana, and that, in his judgment, no European government except Spain could show any claim to this country. When, therefore, we had purchased her right, our claim to Oregon, throughout its widest extent, was absolutely indisputable.

We conclude, therefore, that our claim to Oregon consisted first in our own right, coming from discovery, exploration, and contiguity; secondly, from purchase of whatever right France had to the province of Louisiana; and thirdly, from our succeeding to the right which Spain might have set up to all that coast south of latitude 42°.

We conclude, also, that the right of Spain was of far more importance than that of France, and that if either should be set up as permanent, Spain's claim would surely take precedence.

By the treaty of 1846, the vexed question, which had been for so many years a source of contention between the United States and Great Britain, was settled. England relinquished whatever claim she may have had to the country south of latitude 49°, and we relinquished to her our claims to the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, between 49° and 54° 40′.

Had it not been for the missionary operations among the Indians in Oregon, however, it is likely that we might never have secured permanently any of the Oregon territory, or, if any, only that which lies south of

the Columbia River. The story of the missionary movements among the Indians is of exceeding interest.

Four Indians from beyond the Rocky Mountains came to St. Louis in 1832, and interviewed General William Clark, then general agent of Indian affairs beyond the Mississippi. They asked him for the Bible and missionaries. In response to this request, several Christian denominations within a very few years sent missionaries to the Oregon country to work among the Indians.

Among them was Marcus Whitman, M.D.,[1] from the state of New York. He located on the Walla Walla River about six miles from the present city of Walla Walla in Washington. In the winter of 1842–43, Dr. Whitman made his famous overland journey from Oregon to Washington, D. C., to confer with the national government upon the interests of the Oregon country, and the next summer he helped to pilot a large caravan of pioneer settlers from our western frontier to Oregon. This large company included about eight hundred men, women, and children. On their arrival, the Americans had a clear majority over the British settlers, and they set in operation a provisional government. This government, with George Abernethy as governor, was the only government of

[1] Dr. Whitman was brutally murdered by the Indians in 1847. A full account of his life may be found in the author's book, entitled, *Marcus Whitman and the Early Days of Oregon.*

that entire country until the territory was organized by Act of Congress and General Joseph Lane was appointed governor by President Polk. General Lane entered upon his duties March 3, 1849.

This great territory, formerly called the Oregon country, now embraces the three states of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, with a considerable portion of Montana and Wyoming, altogether amounting to more than three hundred thousand square miles. It contains a population of more than one million. This is proportionately a small population, to be sure, averaging only three and a fraction per square mile, but the country is fertile, the climate salubrious, the productions of great value, and the population is increasing with great rapidity.

In a certain sense, Puget Sound may be considered as commercially the center of the world. The commerce between Europe and America on the one hand, and eastern Asia and Australia on the other, is rapidly increasing. Formerly this commerce was carried on by sailing vessels which doubled the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn. The ship canal connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea now shortens this route. But in the future the commerce of Europe and America with the Orient will be largely across the Pacific from this country. Even to-day the tea which comes from China and Japan, not only for America, but for Europe as well, is brought directly across the

Pacific to Puget Sound, and thence by the Canadian Pacific Railway. By this route New York City is but twenty days from Yokohama.

Much of the commerce of America with eastern Asia has heretofore been through the port of San Francisco, but the route from New York to Yokohama or Pekin via Puget Sound is eight hundred miles shorter than by the way of San Francisco. If a carrier pigeon can be supposed to fly by the shortest line from Boston to Yokohama, that line would be over Montreal, James's Bay, near the middle of Hudson's Bay, and over the Arctic Ocean, passing a considerable distance north of Bering's Strait. The nearer any ship's path comes to that route the shorter it will be. It therefore seems more than probable that in the future the greater part of the commerce between the Occident and the Orient will pass through Puget Sound.

CHAPTER VIII

ALASKA

PREVIOUS to 1867, Russia held the northwestern corner of our continent, then generally termed Russian America. Included within this extensive province were a large number of islands in the Pacific, most of them bearing the name of the Aleutian Archipelago. The mainland of the province lay principally within twenty-five degrees of longitude and included all the territory of North America on the Pacific coast north of 54° 40′, while the islands stretched out towards the west as far as the Isle of Attoo, which lies in longitude 172° 26′ east.

This country was discovered in 1741 by a Russian explorer, Captain Vitus Bering. Captain Bering was a native of Denmark, who entered the Russian navy at an early age, and became noted in a war against the Swedes. In 1725, he was placed in command of a scientific expedition to the Sea of Kamtchatka. On this voyage he ascertained that Asia was not joined to America, but separated by the strait which has ever since borne his name. The Russian government in 1732 appointed him Captain-Commander, and in 1741

he set out on a second voyage of discovery. It was at this time that he sailed along the northwestern coast of the American continent. On July 18th of that year, "he sighted a rocky range of coast, behind which towered lofty mountains, their summits white with perpetual snows." This was his first glimpse of what was afterwards known as Russian America. As a result of his voyage, the country was made known to Russia and that government immediately proceeded to take possession of it. Both Captain Bering and his crew were disabled by sickness, and on their return to Kamtchatka they were wrecked on the island of Avatcha, which has ever since been called Bering's Island. The captain died upon this island December 19, 1741.

As early as 1772, many Russian trading companies were engaged along this coast, and in 1776 Captain Cook, the English navigator, visited the region and reported the existence of otters in great numbers. This report stimulated Russian enterprise. The first permanent settlement was made in 1784, on Kadiak Island, and in 1790 the Russian government appointed a governor over the territory.

Just before 1800, a company was chartered, called the Russian American Company, and to it was granted the entire control of Russian interests in North America for twenty years. Sitka was made a principal trading post, and missions of the Greek Church were established

along the coast. The charter of this company was renewed in 1820, and again in 1844.

This large territory was ceded by Russia to the United States in 1867, in exchange for $7,200,000 in gold. When the proposed treaty ceding Alaska to our government was sent to the Senate for ratification, it is safe to say that the entire American people were greatly surprised. The question had not been agitated; and there had been no call for the annexation of the territory. The plan seemed to have originated with the administration at Washington. Much speculation has arisen as to why the proposition was made, and what were the conditions that brought about the movement.

Certain circumstances point to the following as the true explanation of the matter, but at present it does not seem possible to present any positive proof of its correctness. Many intelligent persons have, however, believed it to be true. It will be remembered that about the year 1864 a Russian fleet of war vessels hovered round New York Harbor and Long Island Sound, and later this fleet returned to Russian waters. It had performed no service and the general opinion was that, being unemployed, it was cruising in American waters simply on a friendly visit, with no political significance. Subsequently, however, circumstances seemed to indicate a definite purpose and suggested a possible explanation of the transaction.

It is asserted that when our government became aware that France and Great Britain were seriously considering the proposition of recognizing the Southern Confederacy, the administration arranged with the Russian government that they should send over this fleet to be in readiness to aid us in case European complications should make it evident that we needed help from Russia. It is quite clear that France was ready to acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States and that the British ministry was disposed to join with France in this act. But just then, Queen Victoria—mindful of the cordial and gracious reception that the American people had given the young Prince of Wales, now King Edward VII., in his tour through America a little before the outbreak of the Civil War, and having just had an interview with our minister, Charles Francis Adams — stepped in and positively stated to her cabinet that she would never acknowledge the independence of the Confederacy and thus consent to the breaking up of the American Union. This put an end to the threatened acknowledgment. In consequence, the Russian fleet had no service to perform, and when the war was over, returned to Russia.

There was, however, a bill to pay. This bill amounted to $7,200,000. Secretary Seward, who was at the head of the State department, saw at once that the payment of this bill would be likely to create

dissatisfaction and bring some discredit upon the administration. He was aware that Russia did not prize highly her American possessions, and possibly would not be unwilling to cede them to us. Private negotiations soon developed the fact that the Russian government would be willing to part with Alaska. A treaty was framed,—making no mention of the fleet or payment for it,—simply ceding to the United States the province of Russian America on the payment by the United States of the sum of $7,200,000 in gold. The treaty was signed by the President and ratified by the Senate. Thus Alaska became a part of the possessions of the United States.

The name, Alaska, is supposed to be a Russian corruption of an Aleutian word, Alakshak, which means "continent," or "large country," although it has frequently been given as an English corruption of Al-ay-ek-sa, which has a similar meaning. The territory contains nearly six hundred thousand square miles. Its purchase was at the time widely ridiculed as "Seward's folly." It was called "a waste of money on rocks and ice, fit only for a polar-bear garden." This country is, however, no longer ridiculed. Its seal fisheries are estimated to bring to us $2,500,000 per annum. This industry is now controlled by the North American Commercial Company, and the rents for the islands, together with the tax on seal skins, bring to our government an annual income of more

ALASKA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude West 160° from Greenwich
ARCTIC OCEAN
ASIA
BERING SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ALEUTIAN IS.
ALASKA
DOMINION OF CANADA
Pt. Barrow
C. Lisburne
Pt. Hope
Pt. Hope
Kotzebue Sd.
Colville R.
East Cape
Anadir Bay
Bering Strait
C. Prince of Wales
Nome
C. Nome
Norton Sound
St. Michael
Yukon R.
C. Klintorsk
C. Navarin
ST. LAWRENCE ID.
C. Romanzof
ST. MATTHEW I.
NUNIVAK I.
C. Newenham
Kuskokwim R.
Mt. McKinley
Valdez
Mt. St. Ellias
Mt. Logan
Yakuta
Skagway
Lewes R.
Mackenzie R.
CIRCLE
ARCTIC
Circle
Dawson
KENAI PEN.
Cook Inlet
Kogiung
Igagik
Ugashik
PEN.
AFOGNAK I.
KADIAK I.
CHICHAGOF I.
Sitka
BARANOF I.
PRINCE OF WALES I.
QUEEN CHARLOTTE IS.
PROBILOF I.
UNIMAK I.
Unalaska
UNALASKA I.
UNMAK I.
ATTU I.
AGATTU I.
RAT IS.
ANDREANOF IS.
ATKA I.
AMLIA I.
160° 170° 180° 170° 160° 150° 140° 130°
60° 50°
180° 170° 150° 140°

BORMAY & CO., N.Y.

than $300,000. The government has already received from this source alone more than the purchase-money paid for the entire territory.

It is interesting to Americans to know that immediately at the close of the Civil War, and previous to the purchase of Alaska by our government, the Western Union Telegraph Company explored the coast of Alaska with the intention of running a telegraph line from America to Asia across Bering's Strait. The success of the Atlantic cable, however, caused this project to be abandoned.

The next year after the country came into the possession of the United States, our laws relating to customs, commerce, and navigation were extended over the mainland, the islands, and the waters of Alaska. For ten years a military post was maintained at Sitka, but at the expiration of that period the troops were withdrawn. The citizens residing in the territory held a convention in 1881, and appointed a delegate to Washington. This was the first united action of the white inhabitants. Three years later, a partial territorial government was established there by Congress, with a governor, appointed by the President, an attorney, a marshal, commissioners, and a district court, the judges of which are also appointed by the President. At the same time the laws of Oregon were extended over this province.

The Alaskan seal fisheries, besides bringing to the

United States a good income, have occasioned international complications. In 1886, our government took the ground that Bering Sea was not a *mare apertum*, but was a *mare clausum*, and that, therefore, foreign nations were prohibited from seal-fishing therein. In that year three Canadian sealers were seized by a United States revenue cutter; their captains and crews were tried for illegal sealing, convicted, fined, and imprisoned. Five others were similarly seized and tried in 1887. Two years later, four schooners were seized by revenue cutters. This course of procedure somewhat strained the peaceful relations between the United States and Great Britain.

In 1891, negotiations were entered into for the purpose of settling the whole matter of foreign sealing in Bering Sea. The question was submitted by the governments of the United States and Great Britain to a tribunal of arbitration, which met in Paris in 1893. This tribunal decided adversely to the claims made by the United States to sovereignty over the waters of Bering Sea and to a property right in the seals beyond the three-mile limit. It did not, however, settle the question of damages which should be paid by the United States for illegal seizure, leaving that to be adjusted by further diplomatic negotiation. A treaty was finally signed in February, 1896, providing for the appointment of a tribunal of two members, a third to be called upon in case of disagreement, to adjudicate

all claims. The British government appointed Judge King of Canada, and the United States selected Judge William LeBaron Putnam of Portland, Maine, for arbitrators. On December 22, 1897, this tribunal submitted its conclusions to the governments. It awarded damages to be paid by the United States to the amount of $473,151.26. Of this, $264,188.90 was for the principal of claims for vessels, $149,790.36 was for the interest on the same, and the remainder was for personal claims.

Disputes continued to arise between the United States and Great Britain, the latter acting on behalf of the Dominion of Canada; and various questions, including the fur-seal and other fisheries in Alaskan waters, were referred to a Joint High Commission appointed by the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, to negotiate a settlement of these controversies, which it succeeded in doing.

Several years ago, gold in large quantities was discovered in the interior of Alaska, on the mountains and in the valley of the upper Yukon. These gold fields were in the Klondike region, directly on the borders of the Yukon district in British America and our territory of Alaska. This new El Dorado soon attracted thousands of men, both from the United States and from Canada. Many millions have been mined, and the supply is by no means exhausted, though the expectations of many people have not been fulfilled.

In 1899, it was supposed that we should realize $20,000,000 from these mines. Scarcely half that sum, however, rewarded the enterprise and industry of our citizens who left their homes and subjected themselves to great hardships on the hazardous journey to the Klondike region, and to untold difficulties and disappointments in the gold fields.

Since the discovery of gold in the Klondike region, some trouble has arisen over the boundary line between Alaska and Canada. This line was first determined by a treaty between Great Britain and Russia in the year 1825. When the United States secured possession of Alaska in 1867, whatever rights, in respect to this territory, had belonged to Russia were clearly acquired by the United States. In regard to the boundaries, the treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia now became a treaty between Great Britain and the United States. Whatever territory was Russian under the treaty must now belong to the United States. The boundary, as fixed by this treaty, began at the southern extremity of Prince of Wales Island and was to run in a northerly direction for a distance of something like five hundred miles, along the summits of the mountains, but always keeping within thirty miles of the coast line. On the one hand, it has been contended that this thirty miles from the coast line means that distance from the main line of the open sea, outside of the archipelago. On

the other hand, the contention has been that the coast line means the salt water line inside of the chain of islands. The United States, acting upon this latter interpretation, has taken and retained possession of the territory up to this line.

The practical question now, however, is not the location of this line within thirty miles (ten leagues) of the coast line, but the location of the boundary line in the region of the Lynn Canal, or Channel, because here all traffic leaves the water for the overland journey to the gold fields. After long-continued negotiations, amid many practical difficulties, an agreement was finally reached (October, 1899), as follows:

In the region about the head of the Lynn Canal the boundary line shall be provisionally fixed, without prejudice to the claims of either party in the permanent adjustment of the international boundary, as follows:

In the region of the Dalton trail, a line beginning at the peak west of the Porcupine creek, marked on the Map No. 10 of the United States Commission, December 31, 1895, and on Sheet No. 18 of the British Commission, December 31, 1895, with the number 6,500; thence running to the Klehini (or Klaheela) river in the direction of the peak north of the river marked No. 5,020 on the aforesaid United States map and No. 5,025 on the aforesaid British map; thence following the high or right bank of the said Klehini river to the junction thereof with the Chilkat river, a mile and a half, more or less, north of Klukwan: Provided, that persons proceeding to or from Porcupine creek shall be freely permitted to follow the trail between the said creek and the said junction of the rivers into and across the territory on

the Canadian side of the temporary line wherever the trail crosses to such side; and subject to such reasonable regulations for the protection of the revenue as the Canadian government may prescribe, to carry with them over such part or parts of the trail between the said points as may lie on the Canadian side of the temporary line such goods and articles as they desire, without being required to pay any customs duties on such goods and articles, and from said junction to the summit of the peak east of the Chilkat river, marked on the aforesaid Map No. 10 of the United States Commission with the number 5,410, and on the Map No. 17 of the aforesaid British Commission with the number 5,490.

On the Dyea and Skagway trails, the summits of the Chilkoot and White passes.

It is understood, as formerly set forth in the communication of the Department of State of the United States, that the citizens or subjects of either power found by this arrangement within the temporary jurisdiction of the other shall suffer no diminution of the rights and privileges which they now enjoy.

The government of the United States will at once appoint an officer or officers in conjunction with the officer or officers to be named by the government of Her Britannic Majesty, to mark the temporary line agreed upon by the erection of posts, stakes, or other appropriate temporary marks.

This divisional line in the region of the Dalton trail is placed twenty-one and a quarter miles above Pyramid Harbor, which is regarded under the treaty as tide-water mark, so that Canadian jurisdiction does not reach to any point on the Lynn Canal. No permission is given for a free port, or for free transporta-

tion of Canadian goods across American territory, except the property of miners. The British sought to have the line placed at the town of Klukwan, which is at the head of canoe navigation, but instead it was placed above at the junction of the Chilkat and the Klehini rivers.

This temporary arrangement will prevent local friction until the Joint High Commission can meet and satisfactorily determine the position of the boundary line between the territory of Alaska and the Dominion of Canada at this point. This will probably be done at an early date.

The climate throughout southern Alaska and the entire group of the Aleutian Islands is moderate, even in winter. As one goes farther north one finds the climate growing gradually colder and the land more barren. In the Sitka district the mean annual temperature is a little above 40°, perhaps 43°. In the Bristol Bay and the Aleutian district it is about 35°, and in the Yukon district 25°, while the Arctic coast is extremely cold and perpetually frozen. In the southern section, between latitudes 55° and 58°, the winters are not so cold as in New York, but are very stormy, and the amount of annual rainfall is from seventy to eighty inches.

Grain does not ripen in any part of Alaska. Potatoes and the principal vegetables of the North can be grown to advantage. Spruce is the universal forest

tree, but it is so knotty and stunted as to be worthless for timber. Yellow cedar grows well in southeastern Alaska and is valuable. The population of this territory in 1900 was 63,592. Of this number about one half are Esquimaux, one quarter white people, and the remainder is made up of Mongolians and mixed races. The population has doubled in twenty years. The principal city is Sitka, in latitude 57° 30′.

It is difficult to realize the extent of the territory of the United States from its eastern extremity to the western limits of the islands of the Aleutian archipelago. Some idea may be gained if we imagine a meridian drawn through the eastern extremity of Maine. Trace this meridian south into the Atlantic Ocean to 37° 30′. Find the meridian which runs through the western extremity of the little island of Attoo in the Aleutian archipelago, and carry this meridian southward in the Pacific Ocean until the same parallel of 37° 30′ is reached. At this point connect these two distant meridians by an east and west line across the United States. It will strike the Pacific coast at San Franciso. Thence continue it westward until it reaches the meridian of Attoo. Now find the middle point of this line. Surely it will surprise many persons to learn that its middle point is an all-day's sail westward from San Francisco.

CHAPTER IX

HAWAII

AFTER the purchase of Alaska in 1867, no further increase of territory was made for more than thirty years. This was a longer period without addition of territory than occurred at any previous time in the history of our government. The original limits of the United States were fixed by the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783. Just twenty years after that, the province of Louisiana was purchased from France. Then eighteen years passed before the final ratification, in 1821, of the treaty which gave us the Spanish province of Florida. Twenty-four years later, in 1845, Texas joined her fortunes with our republic by annexation. The war with Mexico followed, and, in 1848, by treaty, she ceded to us New Mexico and California. Five years after that came the Gadsden Purchase, by which Mexico, for a large price ($10,000,000), yielded to us the Masilla Valley, south of the Gila River. These three additions really belong together; they all came from Mexico, and were the result of the annexation of Texas. Fourteen years

after the Gadsden Purchase, or twenty-two years after the annexation of Texas, Russia ceded to us her province of Alaska.

Hitherto, our additions were made from North American territory. Now, however, we cross the seas in different directions and secure to ourselves island possessions. Up to this time we had no territory within the torrid zone; hence we had no tropical productions. We are now to enter that region enclosed between the tropics, and are hereafter to secure for our nation tropical fruits from our own territory. Is there a truth expressed in the words so frequently heard of late,—"manifest destiny"? Is there a Providence who shapes the history of nations? Is it true that while "man proposes, God disposes"?

Almost half a century ago, at the time of the Crimean War, a series of articles appeared in a New England newspaper, discussing the tendencies of the civilized world and especially of the nations of Europe. In the closing article the writer ventured on some predictions concerning the tendencies of the times. He wrote as follows:

Poorly as the world must think of such a mode of acquisition on the part of England, still the people of Turkey and the East would be gainers by the act. English civilization is the only civilization which has proved itself capable, in modern times, of rearing great and permanent free states. This civilization, with industry and commerce in

its train, would revive the finest portion of the earth, now almost a wilderness of ruin, and bring back those days of prosperity which the records of history tell of, but which, in contrast with present appearances, seem almost fabulous. If Constantinople were possessed by England, a new and large continental England would arise, surpassing the former in all the elements of greatness.

The world is rapidly tending to the aggregation or consolidation of nations into a few great Empire States. England and Russia already excel the Roman Empire.

France is aiming at further accessions of territory.

Germany will be, before many years, united in a confederation.

Asia, west of the British dominions, will fall into the hands of Russia or England.

China and Japan will be Anglicized or Americanized.

The United States will take in the whole continent of America.

The Australian islands will become a federal republic.

Africa will exhibit a line of French provinces in the north, a Liberian Republic in the west, an Egypto-British state in the north and east, and another republic in the south.

That under this new arrangement and vast aggregation of powers, the battles of freedom will be fought over again, Russia marshalling the East against the West, we are not permitted to doubt. Nor is it less certain that our own republic, destined to become the greatest of all nations unless arrested by the suicidal dissolution of the Union, will give the casting vote, with a mailed hand, in favor of the freedom and progress of the race.

The grand inference to be deduced, in every view of our position and duty, is, then, that Americans ought to improve and hold fast their own institutions, elevate their national character, render this the abode of the highest intelligence,

and of a truly Christian civilization, as well as of the most successful industry; that thus our republic may be in readiness, when called upon in the future to decide the fate of nations, to hold up for their imitation the example of a state whose institutions are more conducive to the greatest freedom and welfare of mankind than all the world has ever seen.[1]

These were surely remarkable words. If it were true a half-century ago that "the world is rapidly tending to the aggregation or consolidation of nations into a few great Empire States," how much greater the development in that direction to-day! Nor is this tendency confined to governments; the same principle is observed everywhere in business. Indeed, is it not true that national governments to-day may be looked upon as, in a sense, great business corporations, designed to promote the prosperity of the whole people?

Within the past few years, the growth of large business corporations has been singularly accelerated. The so-called "sugar trust" controls almost entirely the manufacture of that article of commerce. The "Standard Oil Company" controls the manufacture of kerosene oil, not only for use in this country, but largely for exportation; and while its own profits count far up into the millions, yet it has also benefited the world, without doubt, by giving us a purer article for lighting purposes, and at a lower price than

[1] Thomas W. Dorr, in the *Providence Herald*, 1853.

could have been the case if the industry had been carried on by many smaller companies. The great combinations in the iron and steel business, in the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, in the development of departmental stores in the large cities, all show very clearly this modern tendency of consolidation.

In the early history of our nation, we announced to the world what has since been known as the Monroe Doctrine. This was, in reality, a protest from President Monroe against interference by European governments in American political affairs. Monroe's statement to Congress was that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." He said also, in relation to American affairs: "We could not view any interposition by any European power in any other way than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." Still further, he added that we "should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

It has apparently been assumed by some people recently that the Monroe Doctrine prevented our government from acquiring possessions beyond the shores of our own continent. Such, however, is not the case.

The intent of the Monroe Doctrine was that the monarchical governments of Europe should not acquire for themselves new colonies on this continent. Surely, that did not imply that the United States was limited to this continent.

It is necessary to a proper understanding of the Monroe Doctrine to inquire briefly concerning its origin. Soon after the overthrow of the first Napoleon, the sovereigns of France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia formed what was called the "Holy Alliance," for mutual protection against revolutionary movements within their own states. The main purpose of the several parties to this alliance was to maintain their own dynasties. George Canning, the British Secretary of State, feared that this principle of intervention would be applied also to the reduction of the colonies of Spain in America, which for years previously had been disposed to revolt, and to establish their own independence. While these American peoples were colonies of Spain, their trade with the outside world was largely restricted; but now England was profiting by their independence. It was clearly, therefore, for the interest of Great Britain that the Spanish colonies should remain independent, and not be resubjugated by Spain.

This subject was discussed by Canning and Dr. Rush, the American minister in London. Dr. Rush brought the matter to the attention of the President

and his cabinet. John Quincy Adams was then Secretary of State. Speaking of the discussion in the President's cabinet, Mr. Adams said: "The object of Canning appears to have been to obtain some public pledge from the United States, ostensibly against the forcible interference of the Holy Alliance between Spain and South America, but really, or especially, against the acquisition by the United States of any part of the Spanish possessions."[1] Mr. Calhoun at that time was "very much in fear that the Holy Alliance would restore all South America to Spain."

The President's message, therefore, took up the subject and made the statements quoted above, and known as the Monroe Doctrine. He considered also the claim of Russia upon the Pacific coast as falling under the same rule. This message adds also: "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere." The message plainly asserts that "the American continents should no longer be subjects for any new European settlements."

The plain meaning of these declarations was that, inasmuch as some of the colonies founded by Spain on this continent had declared themselves independent, and thus far had successfully maintained their

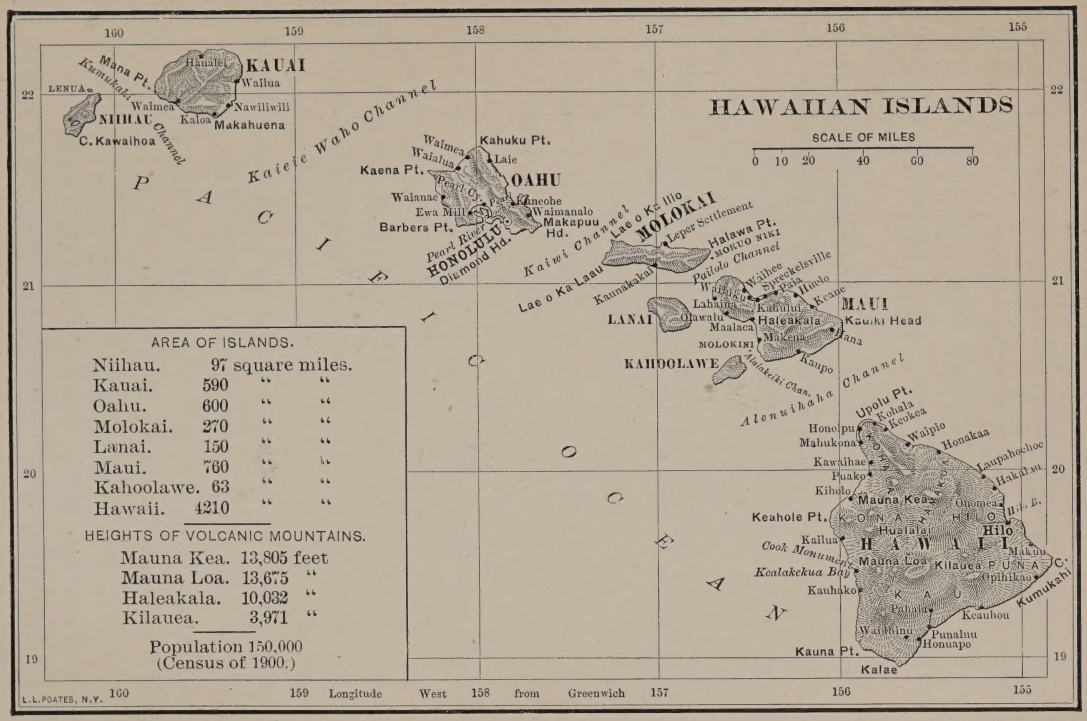
[1] *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vol. vi., p. 177, by Charles Francis Adams. For Mr. Rush's dispatches, see *The Court of London*, 1819–1825.

independence, and their new governments had been recognized by the United States, our government gave notice to the European powers that they must not attempt to bring these countries back to their former allegiance to Spain.

False constructions might easily be placed upon these announcements by the President. To do away with these false impressions, the House of Representatives in 1825 passed the following resolution:

> That the United States ought not to become a party with the Spanish American Republics, or either of them, to any joint declaration for the purpose of preventing interference by any of the European powers with their independence, or form of government, or to any compact for the purpose of preventing colonies upon the continents of America; but that the people of the United States should be left free to act in any crisis in such a manner as their feeling of friendship toward such republics, and as their own honor and policy may at the time dictate.

In other words, the United States should not be fettered by any doctrine or form of program, but left free to act as occasion might require. From this it will readily be seen that the United States is in no way committed to a policy of political protection or guardianship of other American countries. Surely, from the above brief examination of the Monroe Doctrine, it ought to be reasonably clear to every candid mind, on the one hand, that our government is not to


HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80
PACIFIC OCEAN
Kaieie Waho Channel
Kaiwi Channel
Alenuihaha Channel
Kumukahi Channel
Cook Monument
Kealakekua Bay
KAUAI
Hanalei
Wailua
Mana Pt.
LENUA
NIIHAU
Waimea
Kaloa
Nawiliwili
Makahuena
C. Kawaihoa
OAHU
Kahuku Pt.
Waimea
Waialua
Laie
Kaena Pt.
Pearl Cy.
Waianae
Ewa Mill
Kaneohe
Waimanalo
Makapuu Hd.
Barbers Pt.
Pearl River
HONOLULU
Diamond Hd.
MOLOKAI
Lae o Ka Ilio
Leper Settlement
Halawa Pt.
MOKUO NIKI
Pailolo Channel
Lae o Ka Laau
Kaunakakai
LANAI
Lahaina
Olawalu
Maalaca
Waihee
Wailuku
Sweekelsville
Paia
Huelo
Kahului
Haleakala
Makena
Keane
MAUI
Kauiki Head
Hana
MOLOKINI
KAHOOLAWE
Alalakeiki Chan.
Kaupo
Upolu Pt.
Kohala
Keokea
Honolpu
Mahukona
Waipio
Honakaa
Kawaihae
Puako
Kiholo
Mauna Kea
Laupahoehoe
Hakalau
Onomea
Hilo B.
Keahole Pt.
KONA
HILO
Hualalai
Hilo
Kailua
HAWAII
Makuu
Mauna Loa
Kilauea
PUNA
C.
Kumukahi
Opihikao
Kauhako
KAU
Pahala
Keauhou
Waiahinu
Punaluu
Honuapo
Kauna Pt.
Kalae
AREA OF ISLANDS.
Niihau. 97 square miles.
Kauai. 590 " "
Oahu. 600 " "
Molokai. 270 " "
Lanai. 150 " "
Maui. 760 " "
Kahoolawe. 63 " "
Hawaii. 4210 " "
HEIGHTS OF VOLCANIC MOUNTAINS.
Mauna Kea. 13,805 feet
Mauna Loa. 13,675 "
Haleakala. 10,032 "
Kilauea. 3,971 "
Population 150,000
(Census of 1900.)
160 159 158 157 156 155
22 21 20 19
Longitude West from Greenwich
L.L. POATES, N.Y.

be held responsible for the maintenance of other free governments on this continent, and, on the other hand, that this Monroe Doctrine in no way prevents us from acquiring sovereignty over territory elsewhere in the world.

It is natural, however, when we come to the point of stepping off from the continent of North America and undertaking to secure territory elsewhere, that such a proposition should lead to a careful examination, with a view to determining whether accessions of foreign territory would prove advantageous to this country. A very general discussion of these subjects has resulted from our recent accessions of island possessions. Since our war with Spain, circumstances have brought fairly before the minds of our citizens the question of our proper place among the nations of the world. The rapid increase and improvement of the means of transportation and communication between the different parts of the world, especially the tremendous growth of our own commerce, inevitably raise questions which never, heretofore, have affected our welfare. All parts of the world are much nearer together than they were fifty or even twenty-five years ago. The great forces of commerce are changing the world. These changes bring home to us the necessity of a wide-reaching and modern foreign policy. The game of upright diplomatists and enterprising merchants is no longer to be played solely

along the coast line of our own shores, but upon the map of the whole world. Formerly the Mediterranean Sea limited the enterprise of men and set bounds to their thoughts. In process of time, however, the Mediterranean broadened into the Atlantic. Our commerce, hitherto, has been largely limited to this one ocean. The growth of our domain upon the Pacific coast, together with the half-dozen railroad lines which connect that coast with the Atlantic, has made it absolutely certain that the future of this country depends, not only upon our Atlantic commerce, either coastwise or with Europe, but largely upon our relations with the nations of the Orient,— China, Japan, India, Australia, and the thousand islands of the Pacific Ocean.

Among these Pacific islands, the Hawaiian group occupies a prominent position. It lies wholly within the tropics. The islands are eight in number, and are of volcanic origin. The most southern and largest island is Hawaii, which extends just below latitude 19°; and the most northern island, Kauai, lies mostly north of latitude 22°. They cover nearly 7000 square miles of area, Hawaii occupying more than half of the whole surface. Honolulu, on the island of Oahu, has the only good harbor in all the islands.

These islands were discovered by Captain Cook in 1778. On his appearance with his two vessels, the natives considered him a god, and treated him and his

men with great kindness and boundless hospitality. Early in the following year Captain Cook returned to the islands, and found the natives kindly disposed, but inclined to be thievish. When they had stolen one of his boats, he determined to seize their king and hold him as hostage until the boat should be returned. In his attempts to capture the king the two parties came to blows and one of the chiefs was shot. Upon this the natives rushed forward, seized Cook and several of his men and killed them. Their flesh was eaten by the savages, who were cannibals. From that time forward, for nearly forty years, vessels from Europe and America frequently touched at these islands and the natives became more or less acquainted with the white race.

Originally there were kings, or rulers, of the several islands, but after a time they all submitted to one king. About 1820 occurred one of the most remarkable events in history: it was nothing less than the entire overthrow of idolatry in the islands. Under the lead of the principal chiefs, all idols and temples for the idols were completely destroyed, and the nation was left without a religion.

As early as 1809, two boys from these islands, named Opukahia (Obookiah) and Hopu, came to the United States in an American vessel. They were placed in a school at New Haven, and later, with some others who had arrived from the islands, were transferred to a

mission school in Cornwall, Connecticut. Through these young natives great interest in the Hawaiian Islands was awakened, and in October, 1819, a company of missionaries sailed from Boston in the brig *Thaddeus* for the Sandwich Islands, as they were then called. This company consisted of Rev. and Mrs. Hiram Bingham and Rev. and Mrs. Asa Thurston, missionaries; Mr. Daniel Chamberlain, farmer; Thomas Holman, physician; Samuel Whitney, mechanic and teacher; Mr. Samuel Ruggles, catechist; Mr. Elisha Loomis, printer and teacher; the wives of these men; and John Honoree, Thomas Hopu, and William Tennooe, natives of the islands, who had been educated at Cornwall, making seventeen persons in all.

Before their arrival at the islands the whole system of idolatry had been swept away, and the natives were ready to give a cordial reception to the missionaries, and were inclined to accept heartily the new religion. Year after year great progress was made in uplifting the natives and in bringing about a considerable degree of civilization. In 1854, one of the missionaries wrote: "We are toiling up the hill and we may say with all our defects, and they are many, that no savage tribe ever went so fast and so far in thirty-five years as the Hawaiians." This missionary further says: "We do not affirm the perpetuity of the Hawaiian race. This may, and probably will, become extinct. The natives are few in number, and in physical, mental,

and moral power, feeble. . . . Foreigners are pouring in upon us from every point of the compass. Amalgamation is fast taking place. . . . The English language is being learned by many and coveted by most, and all things combined indicate the absorption or extinction of the Hawaiians as a distinct race, at no distant day; let it be so. Still the islands will have a people, and God will have a church here." [1]

Year after year the number of American settlers increased until they finally felt obliged to assume practical control of the islands. Up to 1840, the government was an absolute monarchy. In that year a constitution was secured for the nation, and the prosperity of a civilized people began to mark the history of the islands. The last king, Kalakaua, died in San Francisco, January 20, 1891, and nine days later Liliuokalani, sister of the late king, became queen.

Liliuokalani was a woman of strong will, and firmly attached to the old idea of an absolute monarchy. Two years later, January, 1893, the queen signed two bills which had passed the corrupt legislature, the one legalizing a lottery scheme which had been driven from the United States, and the other licensing the opium trade. She also proposed to announce a new constitution. Her cabinet refused to sign this constitution, which was to give despotic power to the queen.

[1] Letter from Titus Coan, dated Hilo, Hawaii, April 17, 1854. See Newcomb's *Cyclopedia of Missions*, p. 667.

The time for revolution had come. The revolutionists called a mass meeting for Monday, January 16, 1893, and a committee of safety was appointed. Another meeting was held and speeches were made by the citizens. The great mass meeting indorsed the action of the revolutionists in appointing a "Committee of Public Safety" and empowered the committee to keep law and order, and to protect life, liberty, and property. Mr. Sanford B. Dole, a native of the islands, but of American parentage, accepted the presidency of the executive council of the Committee of Public Safety. The revolution was now an accomplished fact. The queen was deposed, and everything remained quiet. This provisional government sent a commission to Washington, asking to be annexed to our country. A treaty of annexation was favorably reported to the Senate just before President Harrison went out of office, but President Cleveland, on his accession to office, withdrew the proposed treaty, and nothing further was done at that time.

In 1894, the provisional government devised a plan for a convention to frame a constitution and establish a republic; and on the 4th of July, from the steps of Iolani Palace, Mr. Dole proclaimed the Republic of Hawaii, and the constitution which had been adopted went into effect. Sanford B. Dole was elected president of the new republic, and efforts were soon renewed to promote annexation to the United States.

When the Spanish-American war began, it was thought that the United States needed something more than a coaling station in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. If the Hawaiian Islands should come under the control of a European nation, the result might in the future be dangerous to us, especially in case of war. Our Congress for a long time considered the question of annexation. In April, 1898, war was declared with Spain, and on the 1st of May our naval squadron in Chinese waters, under command of Commodore Dewey, captured and destroyed the entire Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila. This condition of affairs hastened the action of Congress on the question of the annexation of Hawaii. On the 15th of June the House passed a bill annexing the islands to the United States. The vote stood 209 to 91. This bill passed the Senate July 6th, by a vote of 42 to 21, and it was signed by President McKinley. The cruiser *Philadelphia* was then ordered to Honolulu to raise the American flag over the islands.

"August 12, 1898, the very day on which the 'protocol,' suspending hostilities between the United States and Spain, was signed at Washington, the official transfer of Hawaiian sovereignty to the United States was made at Honolulu, with appropriate ceremonies.

"Minister Sewall, in front of the executive building, where a large concourse of officials, distinguished

guests, and citizens were assembled, presented President Dole a copy of the joint resolution of Congress, with an appropriate address. President Dole yielded up to the representative of the United States the sovereignty and public property of the Hawaiian Islands, 'in the interest of the Hawaiian body politic, and with full confidence in the honor, justice, and friendship of the American people.'

"Following these speeches, the guns gave a farewell salute to the Hawaiian flag, after which the Hawaiian band played the Hawaiian national hymn, 'Hawaii Ponoi.' The Hawaiian flag was slowly lowered, and just at the noon hour the American flag was hoisted in its place, and, as the band from the *Philadelphia* played the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' the identical flag which Commissioner Blount hauled down from the judiciary building in 1893, arose again in its place.

"Minister Sewall then read a Proclamation to the Government and People of the Hawaiian Islands, continuing the civil, judicial, and military power in the hands of the former officials of the Hawaiian Republic until Congress should otherwise provide. Other provisions were proclaimed, by which the government of the islands might proceed without interruption. The minister then addressed the assembly, beginning with the appropriate salutation: 'Fellow-countrymen,' and commending to them the new union, as conducive to 'the burial of past prejudices, the obliteration of nar-

row divisions, and the ultimate political advancement of the humblest citizen, over whom this [new] flag shall float.'

"The oath of allegiance to the United States was then administered by Chief Justice Judd to President Dole as 'President of the Hawaiian Republic, now a territory of the United States.' The oath was also administered to other officials, and the ceremonies of the day were over.

" 'Not only did memories and sentiment,' writes one who was present, 'crowd all joyous thought from the mind as the Hawaiian flag was lowered, but they modified the volume of cheers that greeted "Old Glory" as it rose to its place. Many found themselves subject to emotions that dimmed not a few eyes with tears. . . . In the strictly official ceremonies no offense was given, nor could any be taken by opposing Hawaiians. The reference to the "native sons of Hawaii" in the prayer, as also that of Minister Sewall to those "whose father-land this was" was kind, appropriate, and uplifting. The salutes of parting and of welcome were not the rejoicing over a vanished race, but a welcoming into the larger fold and to the sisterhood of states.'

"But the history of Hawaii as a nation was, nevertheless, ended forever; its annals for the future are to be blended with those of the great republic over the sea. Never again, except as an echo of the past, will

be sung as the national hymn of Hawaii the inspiring song

HAWAII PONOI

"Hawaii ponoi,
Isles of the Summer sea,
Fanned by the trade winds free,
Hawaii nei!

"Grandly thine heights aspire,
Wondrous thy heart of fire,
Deep-toned the sounding lyre,
Thy surf waves play.

"Hawaii ponoi,
God's blessing o'er thee be,
God's love encircle thee
Hawaii nei!

"Be loyal hearts thy might,
Freedom thy guiding light,
Forever truth and right
Bear glorious sway.

"Hawaii ponoi,
Love all my song shall be,
Love evermore to thee
Hawaii nei!

"Aloha, land and sea,
Aloha, brave and free,
Aloha, my countrie,
Aloha, o-e!" [1]

[1] *Hawaii and its People*, by Alexander S. Twombly, Silver, Burdett and Company, New York, pp. 375–9.

President McKinley appointed five commissioners, giving them instructions to proceed to the territory and to prepare for recommendation to Congress such legislation for the Hawaiian Islands as they should deem proper. This commission consisted of Senator Cullom of Illinois and Senator Morgan of Alabama, Representative Hitt of Illinois, Ex-President Dole, and Justice Frear of Hawaii. On the 6th of December, 1898, the President submitted to Congress the report of these commissioners, with the draft of a scheme of legislation for the government and administration of the Hawaiian Islands. The report was accompanied by a bill embodying the recommendations of the commissioners for a general plan of government.

This plan provided for the erection of the islands into a territory of the United States to be styled the Territory of Hawaii, with executive, legislative, and judicial officers. A governor, a secretary of the territory, a United States district judge, a United States district attorney, and a United States marshal were to be appointed by the President; and an internal revenue district and a customs district were created. It abolished the offices of president, the ministers of foreign affairs, finance, and public instruction, auditor-general, surveyor-general, and marshal. The officers of the territory under the new *régime* were to be an attorney-general, with powers and duties similar to those previously possessed by the attorney-general of

the Republic of Hawaii, but with a few exceptions; a treasurer, with powers and duties similar to those of the former minister of finance, and such powers and duties regarding licenses, corporations, companies, partnerships, and registration of printed labels and trade-marks, as had been possessed by the minister of the interior, with certain changes; also a superintendent of public works; a superintendent of public instruction; an auditor; a deputy auditor; a surveyor, with the powers and duties of a surveyor-general; and a chief sheriff, to succeed to the duties of the marshal of the republic. These were all to be appointed by the governor.

Provision was made for a legislature to consist of two houses, a Senate of fifteen members, as under the Hawaiian Republic, and a House of Representatives of thirty members, doubling the membership of the old House. The members were to be chosen at a general election to be held on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November, 1899, and biennially thereafter. The sessions of the legislature were limited to sixty days, and each member was to have $400 salary and fifteen cents a mile for traveling expenses. A senator was required to be a male citizen of the United States, thirty years of age, to have lived in the territory three years, and to be the owner in his own right of $2000 worth of property, or to have received $1000 income in the preceding year. Representatives must be

twenty-five years old, male citizens, must have lived three years in Hawaii, and must either own $500 worth of property or have an income of $250 a year. This was the plan proposed, but the Senate committee struck out the express property qualifications and provided, as the requirements of candidates, that they should be "qualified to vote" for senators and representatives respectively.

The position that Hawaii should occupy in the Union was long discussed in Congress. The Senate had formulated one bill and the House another, both providing for a delegate to Congress from Hawaii. This proposition met with much opposition from both political parties, and a strong feeling was apparent that the bill should contain a declaration that "nothing therein contained should be considered as implying the future admission of Hawaii as a state." Those who favored this declaration opposed the representation of Hawaii by a delegate in Congress, and when the 55th Congress expired on March 4, 1899, no legislation upon this matter had been carried through.

Early in 1900, Congress passed a bill creating the Territory of Hawaii, which bill was signed by President McKinley on the 30th of April. By this act Hawaii was given a territorial government like that of New Mexico and Arizona, with a governor appointed by the President and a delegate to Congress elected

by the people of the island. On the 4th of May the President nominated Sanford B. Dole to be governor of the territory, and the nomination was promptly confirmed by the Senate. Later Robert Wilcox, the candidate of the native voters, was elected as the first delegate from Hawaii to the national House of Representatives.

Affairs in the islands are progressing fairly well, although, owing to the composite, heterogeneous population, great difficulties are experienced. According to the census taken in 1900, the entire population of the islands is something over 150,000. Of these about one third are of the native race; considerably more than one third are Japanese and Chinese; and the remainder is made up of Portuguese, Americans, a few English, and others. The largest city is Honolulu, with a population of about 40,000.

CHAPTER X

PORTO RICO

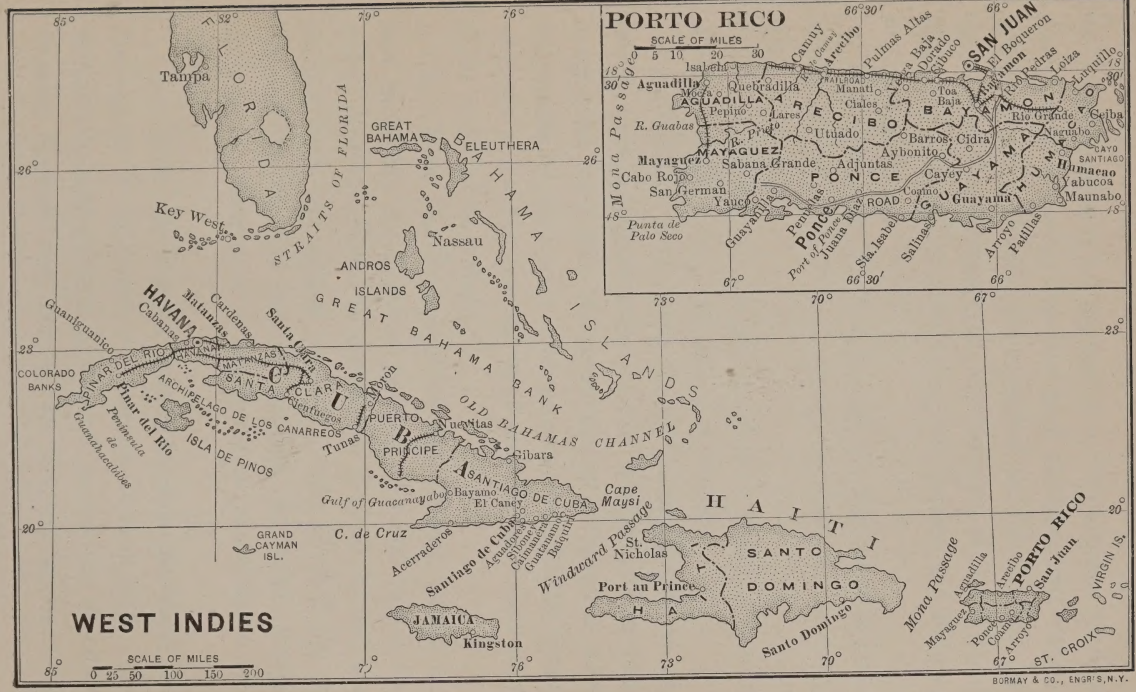
PRESIDENT McKINLEY, in his message to Congress December 6, 1897, reviewed the history of the relations between the United States and the Spanish government in Cuba for the last seventy or eighty years. He alluded to the war then in progress between Spain and Cuba, and asserted that both the Spaniards and the insurgents had paid no regard to the civilized code of war. General Weyler, in command of the Spanish army, had ordered non-combatants in the agricultural regions to leave their homes and their farms and concentrate in the cities under control of the Spanish forces. This concentration policy of General Weyler caused immense suffering and gave great dissatisfaction. The result was that Weyler's resignation was demanded by the Spanish Premier, and General Blanco succeeded to the command in Cuba. This was in October, 1897. Blanco opposed concentration and allowed the reconcentrados to return from the cities and till the soil. The President in his message recommended "neutral intervention on behalf of a compromise, or on humanitarian grounds."

Soon after the message was sent to Congress, Sr. De Lome, the Spanish minister at Washington, wrote a letter containing deprecatory remarks upon President McKinley. He characterized him as "weak and catering to the rabble," and as a "low politician." This letter came into the hands of the Cuban Junta. It was published and greatly inflamed the American mind against Spain.

On January 24, 1898, the United States war ship *Maine*, Captain C. D. Sigsbee, was ordered to the harbor of Havana, "not," as was distinctly explained by Judge Day, the assistant Secretary of State, "as a menace to Spain, not even as a means of protecting the lives and property of Americans in Havana in the event of a popular tumult there, but simply as a token of the resumption of friendly naval relations with Spain." In acknowledgment of the friendly visit of the American battleship to Havana, the Spanish government immediately ordered the battleship *Vizcaya* to visit the American ports.

The *Maine* was destroyed by an explosion, about ten o'clock at night, February 15, 1898. The loss of life was fearful; it was a dark night and few of the crew escaped with their lives. The general belief of the citizens of our country was that the Spanish government, or Spanish officers in Cuba, were responsible for the explosion.

On April 11th, President McKinley sent a message



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to Congress asking for authority to "intervene, for the purpose of stopping the war and securing the establishment of a stable government in the island, by the use of the military and naval forces of the United States." On April 19th, Congress passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, By the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

"1.—That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

"2.—That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"3.—That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

"4.—That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when

that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

The Spanish minister at Washington immediately demanded his passports, and on April 21st the Spanish government practically declared war. The conflict was short, and resulted in a complete victory for the United States. The two Spanish fleets, one in the harbor of Manila and the other in the harbor of Santiago, were destroyed. The fleet at Manila, consisting of ten or more vessels, was totally annihilated on the 1st of May by our fleet under command of Commodore Dewey. Cervera's fleet also was destroyed near the coast of Cuba on Sunday, July 3d, by our North Atlantic squadron, under command of Rear-Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley. The island of Guam, in the Pacific Ocean, was captured by Captain Glass, commanding the United States cruiser *Charleston*, on June 21st.

A treaty of peace was concluded with Spain, December 10, 1898, in accordance with which—

1. "Spain relinquishes all claim to sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

2. "Spain cedes to the United States the island of Porto Rico, and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and the island of Guam in the Marianas, or Ladrones.

3. "Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands. The United

States will pay to Spain the sum of $20,000,000 within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty."

The points above enumerated are sufficient for our present purpose. The treaty was signed by the commissioners, five from the United States and five from Spain. It was ratified by the Senate and signed by President McKinley, February 10, 1899, and by the Queen Regent of Spain, March 17th. Formal ratifications were exchanged in Washington on the 11th of April. The state of war began April 21, 1898, and the treaty of peace was ratified in less than a year from that time.

In the summer of 1898, immediately after Santiago had surrendered, General Nelson A. Miles, in command of the United States Army, sailed from Cuba with a sufficient force of regulars and volunteers to take possession of the island of Porto Rico. He landed at Ponce on the 28th of July. The people of the island received the Americans cordially, and a formal surrender was made to the general in command. The island had not been engaged with Cuba in the insurrection against Spain, but the Spanish rule had been such as to cause a deep hatred of Spain in the minds of the people. General Miles issued a proclamation in which he said:

"In the prosecution of the war against the kingdom of Spain by the people of the United States, for the

sake of liberty, justice, and humanity, its military forces have come to occupy the island of Porto Rico. They have come bearing the banners of freedom, inspired by noble purposes, to seek the enemies of our government, and yours, and to destroy or capture all in armed resistance.

"The chief object of the American military forces will be to overthrow the armed authority of Spain and give the people of your beautiful island the largest measure of liberty consistent with this military occupation.

"They have not come to make war upon the people of the country, who for centuries have been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring protection to yourselves and your property, to promote your prosperity, and to bestow the immunities and blessings of our enlightened institutions and liberal government. This is not a war of devastation, but one to give all within the control of the military and naval forces of the United States the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization."

We have already seen that the sovereignty of this island was conveyed by Spain to the United States in the treaty of peace at the close of the war. With it were also conveyed "other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies."

Porto Rico is one of the West India islands, situated about seventy miles east of Hayti. Between these

two islands lies the Mona Passage. The island is in form an irregular parallelogram, something over one hundred miles long and between thirty and forty miles broad. It contains about 3500 square miles, being somewhat smaller than Jamaica. It lies principally between 18° and 18° 30′ north. A range of hills extends through nearly the whole length of the island from east to west, so that the streams, in general, flow northerly or southerly. The streams of the north are longer than the others. The highest peak of these mountains and the highest plateau are situated toward the northeast corner of the island. These mountains are called the Sierra de Loquillo, and the highest point is 3600 feet above the level of the sea. It is one of the coolest and healthiest islands in the West Indies.

The island is well watered. Hundreds of streams flow down from the mountains to the sea, and nearly fifty of them are of sufficient size to be termed rivers. The soil is exceptionally fertile. The principal productions are sugar, coffee, tobacco of the finest quality, and cotton, remarkable for its long fibre, tenacity, and whiteness. Many cattle and sheep are raised, and they are of a better breed than is found elsewhere in the West Indies. The exports from the island are principally sugar, tobacco, coffee, cotton, molasses, cattle, and hides. The annual exports and imports are from ten to twelve million dollars a year each. A deep-sea

cable connects this island with Europe, America, and the large islands of the West India group.

Porto Rico is one of the islands seen by Columbus in his second voyage in 1493. A Spanish town was founded here in 1510, but was soon abandoned; the next year San Juan was settled with more success. The islanders in 1820 undertook to establish their independence, but were not successful, and the Spanish supremacy was completely reëstablished three years later. The capital town, San Juan, has about 30,000 inhabitants, and is a place of considerable importance, with a good harbor. The population of the entire island is nearly 1,000,000, one third of whom are whites. Slavery existed there until 1873.

The location of Porto Rico, its soil, climate, and healthfulness, combine to make it one of the most important and valuable islands of the West India group. The present governor (1902), appointed by the President, is Hon. William H. Hunt, of Montana, who was until recently judge of the Supreme Court of Montana. For a considerable period the United States government has been spending more than $100,000 a month in constructing roads in Porto Rico, and these public works give employment to from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand laborers. Public schools are rapidly being established by our national government and hundreds of teachers have gone there from the States. Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh is commissioner of educa-

tion in the island. Scarcely one fifth of the people in Porto Rico can read. In 1898, before the Americans took possession of the island, there were something over 500 schools with nearly 20,000 children attending them. In 1900, the schools numbered over 800, with about 40,000 pupils; but there were nearly 300,000 children of school age in the island.

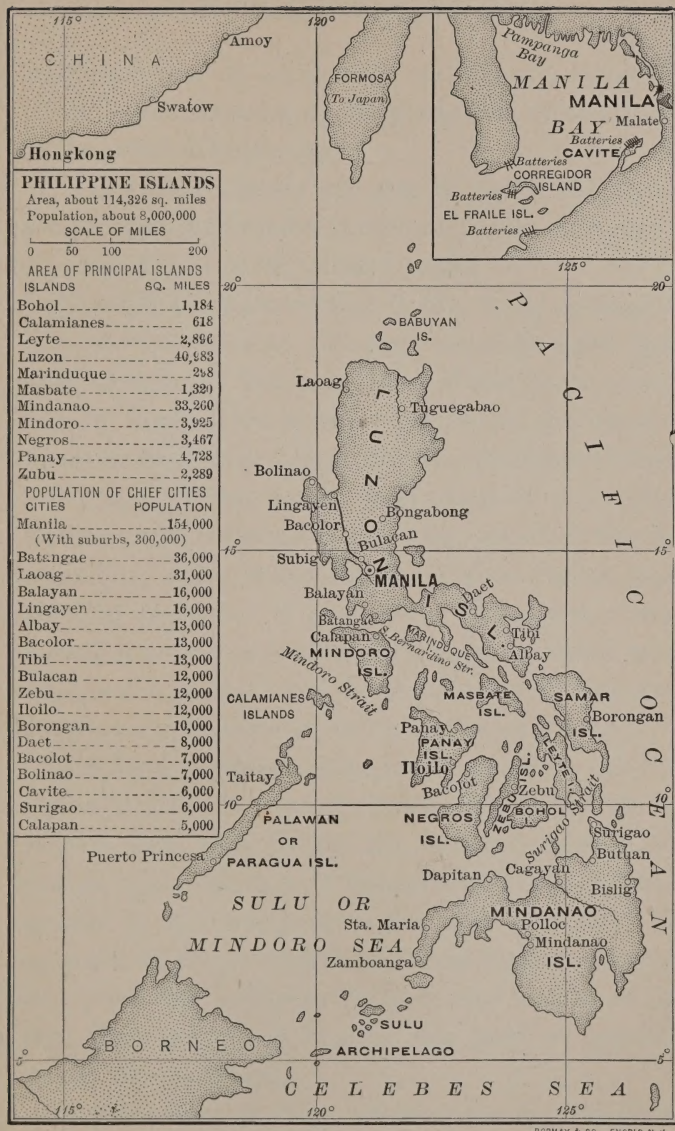
CHAPTER XI

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

THE third article in our treaty with Spain reads as follows:

"Article 3.—Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands and comprehending the islands lying within the following lines:

"A line running from west to east along or near the twentieth parallel of north latitude, and through the middle of the navigable channel of Bachti, from the 118th to the 127th degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, thence along the 127th degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich to the parallel 4° 45′ north latitude, thence along parallel 4° 45′ north latitude to its intersection with the meridian of longitude 119° 35′ east of Greenwich, thence along the meridian of longitude 119° 35′ east of Greenwich to the parallel of latitude of 7° 40′ north, thence along the parallel 7° 40′ north to its intersection with the 116th degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, thence by a direct line to the intersection of the 10th degree parallel of north latitude with the 118th degree meridian of



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longitude east of Greenwich, and thence along the 118th degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich to the point of beginning.

"The United States will pay to Spain the sum of $20,000,000 within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty."

It should be observed that in this treaty no mention is made of indemnity. We made no claim upon Spain along that line. We had captured and taken possession of Porto Rico in the West Indies, the island of Guam in the Pacific Ocean, and the Philippine Islands in the east. These islands were ceded to us by Spain. Many people understand that the cession of the sovereignty in these islands to the United States was a practical necessity in the case. Under the circumstances it would be inconsistent to allow them to remain in the possession of Spain, and surely they could not properly be turned over to any other power.

This same principle operated in regard to the Philippine Islands; it was inevitable, under the circumstances, that they should fall into our hands. We paid to Spain the sum of $20,000,000, but we did not specify in the treaty what that sum was for. The payment is stated within the third article, which article cedes the Philippine Islands, but it does not say that this amount of money was paid as purchase money for the islands.

In the treaty of 1819, wherein the United States

relinquished to Spain her claim upon Texas, and Spain ceded Florida and quit-claimed to the United States her right and title to the Oregon territory, in the ninth article each party relinquished "all claims for damages or injuries which they themselves, as well as their respective citizens and subjects, may have suffered, until the time of signing this treaty." The article then goes on to mention five sets of claims against Spain which the United States relinquished; and the king of Spain, on the other hand, relinquished to the United States five sets of claims which he had previously insisted upon against the United States. Then the eleventh article says: "The United States . . . undertake to make satisfaction to their citizens [for the claims previously mentioned], to an amount not exceeding $5,000,000." It was distinctly understood in this case that this $5,000,000 was to pay for the cession of Florida.

In the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico in 1848, at the close of the Mexican War, when Mexico ceded to us her provinces of New Mexico and California, the twelfth article has this agreement: "In consideration of the extension acquired by the boundaries of the United States as defined in the fifth article of the present treaty, the government of the United States engages to pay to that of the Mexican Republic the sum of $15,000,000."

In our treaty with Russia in 1867, the first article

reads: "His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias agrees to cede to the United States . . . all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said Majesty on the continent of America and in the adjacent islands"; and the sixth article says: "In consideration of the cession aforesaid, the United States agrees to pay . . . to . . . the Emperor of all the Russias . . . $7,200,000 in gold. . . . And the cession hereby made conveys all the franchises and privileges now belonging to Russia in the said territory, the dominion and appurtenances thereto."

These quotations from treaties are made in order to show that when the United States has purchased territory directly from other nations, the treaty has usually specified that the sums paid were in payment direct for the territory purchased. In this case the statement is not made in the treaty that the twenty millions of dollars was in payment for the Philippine Islands. It has generally been interpreted that this sum was in no sense a purchase price but was paid as a recompense to the Spanish government for public improvements in those islands. Spain had made large investments in the Philippines, and had incurred heavy obligations on behalf of the islands. It was deemed by many that it would not be equitable to leave her burdened with these and that the sum should be paid her in recognition of a general principle of fairness. Twenty millions of dollars certainly represents no fair valuation

of the archipelago: indeed it would have been inadequate to buy even the island of Luzon.

The Philippine Islands constitute one of the largest archipelagoes in the world. They lie between the Pacific Ocean and the China Sea, northeast from Sumatra and Borneo. Lying between 5° and 20° north latitude, they are entirely in the torrid zone. They consist of a large number of islands, the principal of which are Luzon, Mindanao, Palawan, Negros, Cebu, Leyte, Samar, Panay, and Mindoro, and very many smaller islands. There are about 1200 islands in all, including the Sulu Archipelago, which numbers about 150. More than 400 of these are inhabited. The native inhabitants are chiefly of the Malay race. The principal ports are Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu.

These islands were discovered by Magellan in 1521. Magellan, or, as his name really was, Fernando de Magalhaens, was a native of Oporto in Portugal, and a famous navigator. In 1519, he was sent out by Charles V. of Spain in command of five ships, with 265 men, on a voyage of discovery, for the purpose of finding the East Indies by sailing west. The voyage took him across the Atlantic to the mouth of the La Plata River and along the shores of Patagonia. Then he discovered and sailed through the strait which has ever since borne his name, and entered the southern Pacific Ocean, to which he gave that name on account of the fine weather which he experienced there. In March,

1521, he reached the Philippine Islands, touching first the island of Samar. The king of Cebu received him with great hospitality and promised allegiance to Spain. Afterwards Magellan as an ally of this king attacked the natives of the island of Mactan, was defeated, and, with eight of his men, was killed, April 27, 1521.

It was a long time before the Strait of Magellan became a practical highway, but this expedition gave to the western world the first distinct knowledge of the Pacific, and the Spanish discovery of the Philippines led to their colonization soon after and the development of a rich commerce through Mexico with the Asiatic islands.

After Magellan's death, Carabello was put in command of the fleet, but he was soon deposed. Juan Sebastian del Cano succeeded Carabello in command of the fleet, and reached the Moluccas in safety. He now had only two vessels remaining, and with these, loaded with spices, he crossed the Indian Ocean. During that voyage he lost one of these vessels, but finally, with the *Victoria*, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Spain, September 6, 1522. Cano was the first navigator, and the *Victoria* the first vessel, to circumnavigate the globe. The king of Spain rewarded him generously, and granted him a coat-of-arms on which was a globe with the inscription, "Primus circumdedisti me."

The real Spanish possession of the Philippine Islands

dates from the year 1565, when they received their name from Philip II., then king of Spain. The natives have frequently revolted against the Spanish government. The last revolt, previous to the American occupation, was in 1896–1897. It was officially declared ended in December, 1897, when twenty-four of the insurgent chiefs submitted to General Primo de Rivera. There were, however, some malcontents who refused to surrender, and, taking advantage of the critical relations existing between Spain and the United States, they induced a considerable following to resume hostilities. Before Manila surrendered to Dewey, these rebels had refused to pay taxes, had captured several important towns connected by rail with Manila, and had destroyed telegraph lines.

When Dewey's squadron entered Manila harbor, the insurgents again took up arms. They continued fighting, directing their hostilities against the military forces of the United States, when we by treaty came into possession of the islands. The insurrection continued for a long time, and we were obliged to send a large army to the islands. The contest was gradually reduced to a guerilla style of warfare; General Aguinaldo, who was the leader of the insurgent forces, was captured, and finally all the bands of insurgents were captured or surrendered.

A large army was for a long time needed in the Philippines to preserve the peace and to enforce the

new order of things. Judge William H. Taft, of Cincinnati, was appointed civil governor of the islands, and in September, 1901, military rule was changed to a civil government. Civil officers have been appointed and municipal and provincial governments by the people have been established. A school system has been put in operation and many hundred teachers have gone thither from the United States. The superintendent of public instruction is Mr. F. W. Atkinson, recently from Springfield, Massachusetts.

The Philippine Islands are estimated to contain about 115,000 square miles, and the entire population is variously reported as numbering from 8,000,000 to 10,000,000. The islands, to a large extent mountainous, are in the line of volcanic activities and the eruptions have probably contributed to their origin and form. The coasts are deeply indented by the sea, and the larger islands are well watered by streams of considerable size. The high temperature and abundance of moisture produce a luxuriant vegetation.

Horses which have been introduced from Spain and China are small and hardy, but the water-buffalo or "carabao" is used for all kinds of field work. Wild animals, such as the antelope, the fox, the wild cat, and the monkey, are found; and among the birds are parrots, pheasants, pigeons, and water fowl. Fish are abundant. Various mineral products exist in considerable abundance.

The islands are capable of raising all kinds of tropical productions. Rice, millet, maize, sugar, indigo, hemp, tobacco, coffee, and cotton are cultivated; and sago, cocoanuts, bananas, numerous fine fruits, timber for shipbuilding, and dye-woods are among the products. The natives weave cloth and make straw hats, cigar cases, and earthern ware; but their chief manufacture is cigars.

The trade of the United States with these islands had greatly diminished during the ten or twelve years preceding their annexation. We had exported to the islands flour, petroleum, leather goods, and iron and steel products. We had received from there chiefly sugar and hemp. In 1888, our exports to the islands amounted to nearly $165,000; ten years later the total was less than $100,000. Our imports from the islands in 1888, 1889, and 1890 were each year more than $10,000,000. From that time the sum diminished gradually until, in 1897, it was only about $4,000,000. The imports to these islands of late years have been principally from Spain, Great Britain, Germany, and France. The amount of these imports has been given as follows:

Chemicals and drugs	$ 800,000
Cotton yarns	2,500,000
Cotton piece goods	8,250,000
Cotton knitted goods	1,100,000
Silk goods	500,000
Carried forward	$13,150,000

Brought forward	$13,150,000
Printing and writing paper	475,000
Boots and shoes	100,000
Spirits and liquors	340,000
Preserved fruits and confectionery	600,000
Umbrellas	310,000
Hats	545,000
Total	$15,520,000

It is readily seen that with the impetus which will inevitably be given to the productions from these islands, now that they are under the control of the United States, their commerce will prove, during the years to come, of no little importance to our country. A letter lately written by General Joseph Wheeler from the island of Luzon says: "I am pleased with this country. The prospects of its becoming a land of wealth and progress are great. It cannot be called an unhealthy country, and with proper sanitary precautions I think that its climate would be far better than the average."

It will take considerable time for the average American citizen to make himself familiar with the idea of the United States holding possessions on the eastern side of Asia. But it should not be forgotten that within easy reach of the Philippine Islands are found several hundred millions of the earth's population. Our republic surely needs, and perhaps one could say ought to have, a fair share of the commerce of China, Japan, the East India Islands, Australia, and India.

An intelligent Japanese, educated in this country, who does a large business importing goods from his native country to Boston and New York, was asked lately what he thought would result from our securing possession of the Philippine, Islands. He replied: "If you refer to commerce you will be great gainers. There are hundreds of millions of people living in the Orient, and they are largely within reach of the Philippine Islands."

He was reminded that a large part of this trade now goes to Great Britain. "Yes, yes, I know," he replied. "But with the energy, enterprise, and inventive genius of the American people you ought to secure a large part of that trade."

Then he was asked if he thought England could have obtained the trade which she has with those people without Hong Kong as her rallying point and trade center. "Oh, no," he replied, "Hong Kong is essential to England. That is the center of her trade. She can ship goods to all parts promptly from Hong Kong."

When asked if we did not need "a Hong Kong," he did not quite understand that idiom, but thought it meant that we should endeavor to get Hong Kong. "Oh, no," he remarked, "you cannot get Hong Kong."

The reply to this was: "I do not mean that we should try to take Hong Kong from the British, but

we need 'a Hong Kong,'—that is, an American port that would do for us what Hong Kong does for the British trade."

"Oh, yes," he said, "that is Manila. If you have Manila you can ship your goods from there in every direction, and supply orders promptly."

Without doubt we need a large increase in our foreign trade; in other words, we want a much larger foreign market. Most certainly the possession and control of the Philippine Islands will be of great advantage to American commerce.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

WE have seen that the growth of our country has been marked by considerable uniformity. The acquisitions of territory have been numerous, and, in regard to time, they have been scattered all along the period of our history. The providential overrulings in our favor have been numerous and of a marked character. If the battle of Quebec had turned the other way, if France had conquered Great Britain in that war instead of being conquered by Great Britain, then probably the United States of America would never have had an existence.

Had France and Spain succeeded in carrying out Count D'Aranda's proposition of the line of the Appalachian range of mountains as the western boundary of the United States, what a different history our country would have made! Had Jay and Franklin shown less sagacity than they did in negotiating the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1782, and allowed the Ohio River to be our northwestern boundary, no one surely could foretell what the result might have been.

Again, had Napoleon succeeded, as at one time he intended, in building up a great French province on the western bank of the Mississippi, what a different future would have been in store for this republic! Had Livingston and Monroe failed to comprehend the importance of the situation and refrained from making with Napoleon that treaty which gave us the great Louisiana province, who can tell what would have been the result?

Again, when Texas, New Mexico, and California, were secured to the United States, if gold had not been discovered just at that time, and if the emigration to California from the south had been greater than from the north, so that this new state had come into the Union as a slave state, that fact would have had a marked influence upon the controversy between the slave power and the free states.

There have always been men who object to any increase of territory. Objections were made to the annexation of Texas, and similar criticisms were current on the purchase of the Mexican provinces. The policy of retaining Oregon received the most severe denunciation. At one time it was said that if Oregon should ever come into the Union as a state, the mileage of members of Congress from that distant section would impoverish our country. One of our leading newspapers in 1842 declared as follows:

Of all the countries upon the face of the earth, Oregon

is one of the least favored by heaven. It is the mere riddlings of creation. It is almost as barren as Sahara, and quite as unhealthy as the Campagna of Italy. Russia has her Siberia and England her Botany Bay, and if the United States should ever need a country to which to banish her rogues and scoundrels, the utility of such a region would be demonstrated.[1]

Many people have made vigorous objections to the policy of our government in reaching out, far away from North America, to add to our possessions these island territories; but it should be noticed that they were thrust upon us, and not sought by us. The fortunes of war placed the future of these islands in our hands and we could not well shirk the responsibility thus imposed. At any rate these islands now belong to the United States and must be cared for by our government. Can there be any serious doubt that, on the one hand, our country will be greatly enriched by these tropical possessions, and, on the other, that the world will be benefited by their being placed under our supervision?

During the time that Alaska was the latest of our territorial acquisitions, it was easy to divide the United States into four nearly equal sections. The story is told of a schoolboy's attempt to translate the first sentence of Cæsar's *De Bello Gallico* thus: "All Gaul is quartered into three halves." Let us not divide our territory in that way. It may aid our memory,

[1] *Louisville Courier-Journal.*

however, to notice that the first quarter consisted of the original territory east of the Mississippi River. This comprised about 820,000 square miles. The second quarter was the Louisiana province, which more than doubled the previous area by adding over 900,000 square miles. The third quarter included the original Texas of about 300,000 square miles, and New Mexico, California, and the Gadsden Purchase, making about 600,000 square miles more. The fourth quarter, of nearly 900,000 square miles, consisted of Oregon, 300,000, and Alaska, 600,000. Thus the entire territory of the United States, in North America, covers an area of about 3,602,990 square miles.

Our population, although reaching an aggregate of over 75,000,000, is spread out over such an immense territory that the average per square mile is exceedingly small. The average population per square mile of the seven nations of Western Europe is more than 200, and the average population of the land surface on the entire globe is 28. The average of the United States in North America is 21—that is, less than the average of all the land surface in the entire world, including Sahara and Siberia. Yet it is true, without doubt, that our territory is capable of sustaining as large a number of people as those countries of Europe which now have ten times the average population of the United States.

Previous to our purchase of Alaska, our territory all

lay in the north temperate zone—that is, between the tropic of Cancer and the Arctic circle. Alaska carried our possessions far north into the regions of the frigid zone. The three groups of important islands recently added to our domain all lie between the tropics. These islands have added to our possessions over 160,000 square miles, and to our population something like 10,000,000 inhabitants.

Our republic has now had a history of nearly a century and a quarter. Its growth has been phenomenal. Its increase in population, wealth, industries, inventions, and civilization has been such as to make us somewhat boastful, but we ought to bear in mind that republican institutions are still on trial. A single century ranks as only a brief period in the history of the world, and true wisdom would incline us to be modest, thoughtful, and cautious as to our predictions for the future. Still, it is impossible for a close student of history to be pessimistic. It is reasonably clear that we are warranted to-day in not only hoping, but expecting, great things for the future of this republic. Mistakes it has made; doubtless mistakes it is now making; mistakes it will make; yet the trend is forward and upward. Many difficult problems confront our statesmen, but it would seem that we are authorized to believe that all these will be satisfactorily solved and that the future will show more rapid advancement than the past.

TABLE SHOWING ORIGINAL TERRITORY AND ADDITIONS, AREA AND POPULATION

TERRITORY.	AREA IN SQ. MILES.	POPULATION WHEN ACQUIRED.	POPULATION IN 1900.	PRESENT DIVISION INTO STATES AND TERRITORIES
Original Territory.	About 820,000	About 4,000,000	About 51,000,000	Ala., Conn., Del., D. C., Ga., Ill., Ind., Ky., Me., Md., Mass., Mich., N. H., N. J., N. Y., N. C., O., Pa., R. I., S. C., Tenn., Vt., Va., W. Va., Wis.
Province of Louisiana, 1803.	About 900,000	75,000	About 16,000,000	Ark., Cal., N. Dak., Ind. Ter., Iowa, Kan., La., Minn., Mo., Mon., Neb., Ok., S. Dak., Wy.
Florida, 1819.	66,612	About 5,000	About 500,000	Florida and small parts of Ala., La., and Miss.
Texas, 1845.	376,133	About 150,000	About 3,000,000	Texas and parts of Col., Kan., N. M., and Ok.
Oregon country, 1846.	288,345	About 10,000	About 1,200,000	Idaho, Wash., Oregon, and parts of Mon. and Wy.
New Mexico and California, 1848; Gadsden Purchase, 1853.	About 590,000	About 75,000	About 2,000,000	Ari., Cal., Nev., Utah, and parts of Cal., N. M., and Wy.
Alaska, 1867.	577,390	About 50,000	About 50,000	Alaska.
Hawaii, 1898.	6,582	About 110,000	About 110,000	Hawaii.
Porto Rico, 1898.	3,550	About 800,000	About 800,000	Porto Rico.
Philippine Islands and Guam, 1898.	114,326 300	About 8,000,000	About 8,000,000	Philippine Islands and Guam.
Total,	3,743,238		82,660,000	

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